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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

VOL. II

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From the picture by François Clouet at Windsor Castle

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Mary Queen of Scots
in Widow's dress (Deuil blanc)

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

HER ENVIRONMENT AND TRAGEDY

A BIOGRAPHY

BY

T. F. HENDERSON

With 102 Illustrations, including 2 Photogravure Plates

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

CHAPTER VIII

THE MURDER OF RICCIO

HAVING thus baffled Elizabeth and vanquished her brother, by far the most dangerous of all her Scottish foes, Mary, it might seem to some, was past the worst of her perplexities and troubles. Knowing nothing of fear, she was probably anticipating the future with higher hope than had been hers since she found herself in the hands of the Protestants. If her difficulties in the near future were still certain to be great, and if a hard fight was still before her, she had at least freed herself from the incubus of her precise brother : she was now, so she fondly flattered herself, her own mistress, and her destiny was, so far, under her own control. Since, however, her brother was not in her, but in Elizabeth's, hands, her triumph was more apparent than real ; it was laden with curses rather than with blessings to her ; and she was really on the very threshold of her tragedies.

We now reach a kind of intermediate stage in Mary's career. For a few months after her return to Edinburgh from having run her fox to earth in England, Scotland was blessed with seeming quiet : Mary was not much troubling the Protestants, nor the Protestants Mary, while

she and Elizabeth were engaged mainly in cooing pleasant things to each other. But while there was much that seemed outwardly making for peace and conciliation, the silent influences of plot and intrigue were everywhere at work, the air was charged with electricity, and the storm was soon to burst.

Hitherto the main motives of Mary's life had, as the necessary consequence of the precepts she had imbibed from infancy and the exceptional character of her circumstances as sovereign, been absorbing personal ambition. Her ambition, robbed of its greatest prize by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was the first to dangle the prize before it, was now being silently concentrated on preparations for a supreme effort to snatch the lesser prize : but while these preparations were still in their initial stage it was to be suddenly frustrated—frustrated beyond the possibility of retrievement ; and the place which ambition had up till this time occupied in her life was to be filled by passion, passion as absorbing as the previous ambition.

Up till now Mary had—such is the theory I venture to select—known nothing of passion. Her heart had been shut against it by ambition ; her first marriage really meant nothing ; and her marriage to Darnley, if it meant more than ambition, meant merely a month or two of pleasant sentimentalism. But once passion was awakened in Mary, it completely possessed her, for she was nothing if not brave and strenuous and strong ; and the object of her passion being such as he was, and her situation, political and personal, being so peculiarly unique, the result was a tragedy that caused the ears of Europe to tingle. Some have indeed adopted the theory that at this stage she was under the joint dominion of ambition and passion, and

that it was the combination of the two that paved the way for her fall. They suppose that her affections, if she had them, for Darnley were—even before her marriage to him—shared by her Italian secretary, Riccio ; that her relations with Riccio were a sort of preparative for her relations with Bothwell, the object of her "grand passion." But this theory rests on no very tangible evidence ; it is in itself unlikely ; and it is in no way needed to explain all that is definitely known of her relations with Riccio.

David Riccio, the son of a musician at Pancalieri, near Turin, came to Scotland in 1561 in the train of the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy. He was unmarried, and he remained so to the close of his life. Contemporary champions of Mary, such as Blackwood, Causin, and Lesley, have insinuated or asserted that at this time he was old ; but his portrait taken in 1564 represents a man not much over thirty. According to one account he was, when he came to Scotland, about twenty-eight ;[1] and Randolph, though he makes merry in regard to the love for young damsels of middle-aged men like Knox and Maitland, has nothing to say on this score about Riccio.

There is a general agreement that he was in some way deformed ; and Mary's champions also represent him as ugly, which according to Scottish notions he may have been. He was dark and swarthy, but the eyes are large and smiling ; though of mean birth, he had doubtless a veneer of good manners from his intercourse with persons of high station ; and we must also believe that he possessed a full share of the pleasant subtlety of the Italian. To the Queen he had recommended himself by his accomplishments as a musician ; and since she was then in need of a bass singer to

[1] Labanoff, *Lettres*, vii. 86.

complete the quartet in her chapel, she persuaded his master to allow him to stay in Scotland; and she made him one of the valets of her chamber at a salary of some £80 a year, paid quarterly. The theory—which gained currency at the time[1]—that he was a Papal agent, is of course quite inconsistent with the theory, also current, that he was Mary's lover; but the former theory, born of Protestant fear and suspicion, cannot now be entertained. Had he been a Papal agent, there is no reason why letters from him should not be preserved at the Vatican; but neither has Father Pollen been able to find traces of communications from him there,[2] nor is there any allusion to him in the Papal correspondence of the period.

Apart from this, the superseding of Raulet by him in December, 1564, is easily explained. According to Randolph the story went that it was because Raulet was too intimate with himself.[3] Randolph denied that he had any confidences with him, and that he had is most unlikely; but besides that he may have betrayed Mary's affairs to the Cardinal of Lorraine, it was becoming of more and more importance to Mary that France should be kept in the dark as to her purposes.

Along with another *valet de chambre*, Riccio is mentioned by Randolph as a chief dealer for the Darnley marriage;[4] and he was reported to have introduced the priest who performed the supposed ceremony of betrothal. But though, as a Catholic, naturally desirous that his mistress should marry a Catholic, there is no reason to suppose that he exercised any initiative in regard to the marriage—this supposition was a corollary merely of the Papal-agent

[1] Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 136.
[2] *Papal Negotiations*, p. ciii.
[3] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 101.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii., 154.

From a contemporary picture.

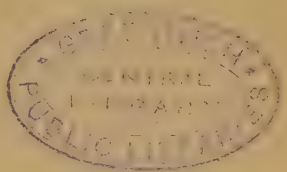
DAVID RICCIO.

theory—or that he was doing more than obeying the behests of his mistress. Nor is it in the least surprising that, being a Catholic, and wholly unbiased by Scottish prejudice, or by any purpose beyond the advancement of her and his own interests, his duties should increase in responsibility as soon as Mary decided to take Darnley for better or worse. She had, even already, begun to have differences with Maitland; for though the Protestantism of Maitland was in no way "precise," he was a passionate patriot, and desired to subordinate the interests even of Mary to those of his country and to the union of the kingdoms. If he and Mary, though differing somewhat in their interests, did not differ so greatly in their political aims, they were beginning to differ much in their policy.

Not that as early as the beginning of June, David, as Randolph reported, was "he that worketh all."[1] If any one was working all it was Mary herself; but Randolph was, of course, stuffed up to the eyes with prejudice and ill-will, and his suspicions far surpassed his knowledge. As yet Maitland had not quite lost his influence over the Queen; and we must also believe that he was entirely opposed to the narrow and extreme policy of her brother. But Moray's perseverance in his armed attempt against her could not but cast suspicion on Maitland, and once Moray actually took up arms, Maitland's influence with her was for the time gone. Riccio's star was now in the ascendant; and if he never was, except in a subordinate sense, the political adviser of Mary, he was necessarily entrusted with her most dangerous political secrets.

But are the confidence Riccio enjoyed and the rewards conferred on him, to be attributed merely to Mary's need

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 171.



of a political confidant, or did he attain to his unique position as the consequence of being Mary's lover ; or did politics and love combine to shower such benefits upon him ? To this it may be answered that no other theory than that of Mary's necessities, in her peculiar political situation, is needful to explain his confidential position ; and apart from her extreme generosity to those dependent on her, it was necessary to attach him to her by high rewards. She herself scouted the notion that none but the nobility were entitled to places of high political trust, and, apparently with special reference to the case of Riccio, denied that humble origin or poverty is any disqualification for promotion in the case of one possessed of "a generous spirit and faithful heart."[1] The peculiar nature of her political ambitions made it needful for her to have recourse to a political confidant who was outside the ranks of the Scottish nobility. She was running tremendous risks in taking such a step, and still greater ones in adopting the policy on which she was now bent ; but her risks, instead of diminishing, would have incalculably increased, had she permitted her political confidant to be also her lover.

Love is proverbially blind ; but the critical character of Mary's political situation, and her eager desire to make good her claims to the English throne, render it very unlikely that she was allowing herself to become the slave of a mean passion—even if we omit to consider that, for both Mary and Riccio, there was the ordeal of the confessional, and that Mary was at this time specially anxious for Papal countenance and help. Moreover her spirit was still buoyant and high, she had a strong innate sense of sovereign dignity, and her mere pride of race—in such

[1] Labanoff, vii. 298.

a matter much more regarded by a woman than a man—was, we must believe, an effective defence against a danger of this kind.

Nor can any faith at all be placed in the evil hints of Randolph: he was largely in the dark as to Mary's motives and intentions; the rapid rise of Riccio in her favour was more or less a puzzle to every one, and it was bound to give cause to all kinds of speculation. The *locus classicus* on the subject is a statement of Randolph to Cecil in a letter of 13th: "the hatred conceaved agaynste my Lord of Murraye is nether for his religion, nor yet for that she nowe speakethe, that he wolde tayke the crowne from her—as she said latlye to my self that that was his intente—but that she knoweth that he understondethe somme suche secrete parte (not to be named for reverence sake) that stondethe not with her honour, which he so myche detestethe, beinge her brother, that nether cane he shewe hym self as he hathe done, nor she thynke of hym but as of one whome she mortallye hatethe. Here is the myscheif, this is the greef, and howe this may be salved and repayred, yt passethe, I trowe, mans wytte to consyder."[1]

But this is a mere expansion of Randolph's intimation of August 27th, that from Mary's excessive anger against Moray, he conjectured that there was "some heavier matter at her harte agaynst hym than she wyll utter to anye."[2] He referred Cecil for further information to Thomworth, soon thereafter to set out for England; and, apparently on the faith of this information, Elizabeth told the French ambassador, de Foix, that the cause of Mary's hatred of her brother was that she had been informed that he

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 223. [2] *Ibid.*, 198.

would have hanged an Italian named David that she loved and favoured, giving him more credit and authority in her affairs than was consistent with her honour.[1]

Apart from the fact that Elizabeth was well aware that Mary had other good grounds for offence against her brother, this reference to Riccio is ambiguous. That Moray hated Riccio we need not doubt, nor even that he would have hanged him if he could; but the fact that Riccio, a Catholic and a mere Italian upstart, was entrusted with the transaction not merely of routine business but with political correspondence, of the character of which Moray was entirely in the dark, was a sufficient ground of offence.

Apart also from the Riccio matter, Mary had ample reason for a quarrel with her brother in the fact that he had been in confederation with this same Elizabeth, in order to hinder the marriage, and that he was now acting in alliance with Elizabeth against her. Moreover we have no confirmation of Randolph's assertion: he does not say whether he got his information from Moray or where he got it; and he possibly put his own interpretation on Moray's bitter hatred of Riccio. It must have existed from the time that Mary made up her mind to marry Darnley: all this while Darnley and his father had better opportunities of knowing the character of Mary's relations with Riccio than Moray had; and Darnley's suspicions were not aroused until very much later.

In the long run, however, the trust that Mary was placing in Riccio was bound to arouse the wrath of her husband—for the simple reason that she was ceasing to place any trust in himself. For a short period after her

[1] De Foix, October 13th, in Teulet's *Relations*, ii. 243.

marriage, she was evidently careful that he should be treated with the utmost deference. On the eve of the marriage she conferred on him the title of King; and she clearly wished to impress on her proud nobility that he now ranked high above them in dignity, and that they owed him the deference due to royalty. But unhappily Darnley, though superfluously proud and insolent, quite lacked the reserve and high self-respect demanded of one in his position; and his faults of manner were not his worst faults, for they were the mere manifestation of fatal mental and moral incapacity.

It thus soon became manifest to Mary that regard to their joint interests made it impossible for her to give Darnley the place in her counsels, which at first she would have fondly desired him to have had. He was, alas! in no sense a helpmeet for her; politically desirable he may have been, but personally he proved to be detestable, and for her mistake in marrying him she was to pay a terrible price. Not only was his advice of no value to her, but she discerned that she had no hold on his affection; that he was in no way amenable to her counsel, and that it would be quite unsafe to permit his interference in high matters of state, or to reveal to him the real character of her political intentions.

Amongst the earliest matters of difference between them was whether Lennox or Bothwell should be lieutenant-general.[1] Lennox was an able and experienced soldier; but Darnley failed to see the advisability both of not offending the susceptibilities of certain zealous Scottish nobles, and of making sure of the goodwill of so powerful a noble as Bothwell, who had previously strong cause of offence

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 223.

against the Queen ; and from this time the rift between her and Darnley became wider and wider. It may have been partly to lull the suspicions of Elizabeth to sleep that, in deference to her suggestions,[1] she, as a basis of reconciliation, decided finally that Darnley should be King-Consort only in title ; but there was sufficient reason for this in the peculiarities of Darnley.

On December 25th, Randolph reported that although for a while there was nothing but "Kynge and Quene, his majesties and hers," the "Queen's howsbonde" was now the most common style ; that where he was wont to be placed first in all her writings, he is now placed second ; and that certain pieces of money lately coined "withe bothe their faces *Hen. et Maria*" had been called in, and others made on which the name of the Queen stood first.[2] This indicated a definite postponement of the grant to him of the crown matrimonial, on which he was bent but which would have implied a power of direct interference in matters of state ; and with such matters she deemed him unfit to meddle.

But side by side with Darnley's apparent loss of credit with the Queen, the influence wielded by Riccio became more marked. Buchanan affirms that Riccio's equipages and the rank of his attendants exceeded those of the King ; and although Buchanan is a better rhetorician than historian, Riccio was not only well paid for his services by the Queen, but received large sums by way of bribes from those requiring special favours. If we are to hold that Mary's partiality for him was a mere caprice, then it was a very infatuated one ; and unless she required of him political services, the performance of which could not

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 216. [2] *Ibid.*, 248.

From originals in the British Museum.

COINS AND A MEDAL OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

1. A Testoon of Queen Mary, 1553. 2. A Ducat of Mary and Francis II., 1558. 3. A Testoon of Queen Mary, 1561. 4. A Medal of Queen Mary by Primavera. 5, 5. Two-Third Royal, Mary and Darnley, 1565. 6, 6. An Edinburgh Penny with Queen Mary's Portrait as a Child.

safely be entrusted to others, then the lover theory becomes at least by far the most probable. Some, desirous to champion her cause, endeavour to show that at this time she had no intention of seeking to restore Popery, and, by consequence, no intention of enforcing her claims to the succession by Papal help; but in such a case her political need of Riccio is hardly manifest. What, then, was the nature of her political intentions and resolves now that she had driven Moray into exile? As we have seen, when there was an apparent combination against her by Moray and Elizabeth, she had sent off messages to Spain and to the Pope for help.[1] But Moray's attempt ended in a mere fiasco. Elizabeth, beyond receiving him under her protection, did nothing to help him; and although Philip, in answer to her appeal, sent by her messenger Yaxley a sum of 20,000 crowns to be used at her discretion, it never reached her. Yaxley, on his way home with it, was wrecked and drowned at Bamborough Head; and, notwithstanding Mary's protest,[2] his effects, including the money, were, on the ground that he was an Englishman, claimed by Northumberland as "just wrack."[3]

With the money Philip also sent a letter of advice,[4] which perished with Yaxley in the sea; for Smith, on March 22nd, wrote to Cecil that it would have been better to have had his papers than his money.[5] In his letter to Guzman on the subject, while stating that Darnley and Mary then aspired to win the succession to the English throne by force, Philip expresses no opinion on this latter

[1] Labanoff, i. 281-3; see especially *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 208-12.
[2] Labanoff, i. 321-2. [3] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 272, 289, 293.
[4] *Spanish Papers*, 1558-67, p. 498. [5] *For. Ser.*, 1566-8, No. 208.

point; but his views as to the policy which in certain circumstances he was inclined to pursue are given very fully—and no doubt very much in the form in which they would be stated to Mary in the lost letter—in a letter of October 16th or 18th to Cardinal Pachero.[1] He considered the possibility of trouble ensuing to the Queen of Scots in three ways: (1) as it did, by rebellion, (2) by Elizabeth giving assistance to the rebels, and (3) by the resolve of the Queen of Scots—as hinted in her letter to Philip—to prosecute her claims to the English throne by force of arms. In the first case, he thought that secret doles of money would be a sufficient assistance, in the second that considerable help both in money and men might be necessary, and in the third that she should be advised to exercise great prudence and attempt the great enterprise only "when the right moment came"—an advice which Philip was to continue repeating in after years, for the "right moment" was Philip's moment; and Philip had himself an eye on the English throne.

But the circumstances of Mary were not now quite what Philip had anticipated. She was in no immediate need of help against Moray and Elizabeth; but she had neither caught nor killed Moray nor the other rebel lords; and on account of their presence in England, her situation was in some respects more critical than it had been, for they could there plot against her in entire security. In these circumstances Mary—on this point historians otherwise widely divergent in their views are at one—decided that in the Parliament in March (1) Moray and the other rebel lords—with the exception of Châtelherault, who had been pardoned and sent into exile for five years in

[1] *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 213-15.

France—should be forfeited, and (2) that the Catholics throughout Scotland should have the free exercise of their religion.

We may admit with Mr. Lang,[1] as against Dr. Hay Fleming,[2] that Mary had no immediate intention of persecuting or molesting Protestants; and we may admit with Father Pollen,[3] also against Dr. Hay Fleming, that a certain Papal league mentioned on February 7th by Randolph[4] as in process of formation was apocryphal; but even if it be further admitted that Mary hardly cared tuppence for Papal leagues, except in their bearing on her own political interests, it by no means follows, as Mr. Lang seems to contend, that Mary was quite devoid of duplicity. In the letter of her pretensions she may have been devoid of it, but hardly in their spirit; she had all along contended for toleration, and all that she now asked from Parliament was toleration; but she was not so dense as to be unable to discern that two creeds so bitterly antagonistic as Catholicism and the Knoxian Protestantism—with their rival war cries of "heresy" and "idolatry"—could not long continue to flourish in Scotland side by side. The case therefore seems to stand thus: (1) mutual toleration for any length of time between the two creeds was a vain dream; (2) the likelihood, in any case, is that Mary hoped that the legal recognition of Catholicism would ensure its triumph; (3) on the supposition that Mary was in no sense practising duplicity towards her subjects, and was resolved to contend for the toleration of Knoxian Protestantism as much as for that of Catholicism, she was practising duplicity towards the head of her own religion, the Pope, for in

[1] *History*, ii. 156.
[2] *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 379.
[3] *Papal Negotiations*, p. ciii.
[4] Stevenson's *Illustrations*, p. 153.

writing on January 31st, 1565-6, to congratulate Pope Pius V. on his consecration, she informed him that she had resolved to take advantage of the favourable moment, when her enemies were in exile or in her power, to restore Catholicism[1]; and (4) the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland was—seeing she could no longer expect the support of the English Protestants—the necessary preliminary to her attaining the English succession.

Eager and impetuous, Mary therefore, immediately after Moray's flight, began to concentrate her whole attention on preliminary preparations for the great venture of her life. Indeed, if that venture was ever to be made, now was the time to prepare for it.

The extreme Protestants were meanwhile in dismay. Argyll, now in hiding in his Highland fastnesses, was the only rebel Protestant lord in Scotland; by the absence of Moray and other Protestant leaders, the Protestant opposition was partly paralysed; the exile of Châtelherault for five years to France placed the Hamiltons on their good behaviour; the restoration of Huntly and the disgrace of Moray ensured a preponderance of influence on Mary's behalf in the north; and the marriage in February, 1565-6, of Bothwell to Huntly's sister linked these two nobles into a close alliance, which for a time was to be her chief mainstay. The scheme was bold and risky, as every scheme for such a purpose was bound to be; but it was by no means so rash as it now appears to be in retrospect and judged by the light of its failure. It was marred (1) by the fatal Stewart defect in Mary, which made her blind to the consequences of her too defiant patronage of the Italian upstart, and (2) by Darnley's unfitness for

[1] Labanoff, vii. 8-10.

his position of Consort, and by his colossal folly in falling into the snare laid for him by the Protestants.

Mary's reasons for placing such trust as she was doing in Riccio were bound to cause speculation. It evidently portended a remarkable purpose of some kind, whatever that purpose might be; and the more entirely it was hid, the darker were bound to be the suspicions against her. There was now, therefore, combined against the unhappy favourite (1) the implacable hate of the Protestants, who supposed him to be a mysterious Papal agent engaged in a great conspiracy against the "truth of God," (2) the ill-will of many of the nobles, especially of the state officials, who deemed him the usurper of their special rights and privileges, and (3) the rage and jealousy of Darnley, who, on account of the refusal to him of the crown matrimonial, was bound to contrast the lack of trust placed in him by the Queen, with the complete confidence reposed in the Italian favourite.

That Darnley got to be convinced that Riccio had dishonoured him, it would be rash to affirm. Probably his mood varied, and his assertions may have been meant mainly as menaces: the Queen was treating Riccio in such a fashion as gave him feasible grounds for making them, and, whether he believed them or not, he could threaten her with them, in the hope of concussing her to grant him the crown. But however that may be, the story which reached de Foix, he does not say how, that the King a few days previous to the murder found Mary and Riccio together at midnight in a locked room, Riccio having no other garments on than his nightshirt,[1] is not only improbable but incredible; for had that been so, the

[1] Teulet, *Relations*, 267.

King was bound to have taken vengeance on him there and then. Besides, the conspiracy was in progress weeks before the murder; and before the conspiracy began, Darnley had been meditating on his wrongs, whatever they may have been, and nursing his wrath.

Latterly Darnley had taken to drinking and other vices; and when, at an entertainment in the house of an Edinburgh burgher, the Queen sought to dissuade him from drinking too much, he gave her "such words that she left the house in tears." The Queen, it was said, was doing her best to be kind and pleasant to him, though he could not "be persuaded upon to yield the smallest thing to please her."[1] Insolent and imperious as he was, it passed her art to soothe him or hold him in check; and the excitement of drink and baffled rage made him an easy prey to those who had their own personal or political ends to serve, but cared nothing for his personal quarrel.

Moray—who, if we are to credit Randolph, was months before this shocked beyond the possibility of reconciliation at the conduct of his sister with Riccio—was, if we are to credit Sir James Melville, not above seeking the favour of this, according to Randolph, same dishonourer of his sister more humbly than could have been believed, with fair promises and the offer of a rich diamond;[2] and it is certain that Moray's relative, Douglas of Lochleven, sought to bribe the same supposed miscreant with a gift of five thousand pounds Scots, only to receive from the miscreant the reply that twenty thousand and it were all alike and it could not be.[3]

It is further undeniable that hardly had Moray arrived in England than he was making suits both to Mary and

[1] Keith, ii. 403-5. [2] *Memoirs*, p. 147. [3] M'Crie's *Knox*, ed. 1850, p. 293.

Elizabeth, in order to secure the remission of his own offence and that of his co-conspirators, and that, whatever had been, or were, the relations of Riccio with his sister, he was now prepared to pretend to overlook them, in order to secure his and their return to Scotland. As Randolph, however, discovered, there was no good intended to the rebel lords, unless they could persuade Elizabeth to make Mary heir-apparent to the English crown[1]; and since this passed the power of Moray or any one else, it became needful for Moray—great, good and almost impeccable, as some are never tired of proclaiming him to have been—in order that, as he himself put it, he and his exiled friends might not be "wraykit for ever," to commit himself to the assassination of this same Riccio, whom neither he nor any one else could bribe to befriend them; and for this purpose to enter into a dishonourable bond with the same Darnley, against whom he, but lately, had called all Scotland to arms.

In defence of Moray it has been argued that Darnley by promising to restore Protestantism, had removed Moray's grievance against him; but the bitter sectarianism of Moray is hardly to be counted to him for righteousness, even if he ever forgot to combine with it a strong regard to his own interests; and besides, knowing Darnley as he did, he could not intend that Darnley should be king otherwise than in name, or that the power should be in other hands than his own.

Meantime the business of the State seems now to have been transacted almost wholly by Riccio, assisted by Sir James Balfour, apparently in Scottish matters. Maitland, though not formally dismissed, was practically excluded

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 254.

from the Queen's confidence, and had "no other credit than to entertain his mistress," where, according to Randolph, he "had more leisure than many a wise man would take to so idle an office";[1] but Maitland, though, we must suppose, taking full advantage of his permission to make love to Mary Fleming, was not, as Randolph imagined, showing himself "a verie fool, or stark staringe madde." His thoughts were not exactly Randolph's thoughts; but the more anxious the impetuous Queen became that Maitland should be excluded from her councils, the more did Maitland become convinced of the dangerous character of her purposes, both to himself and Scotland. He must also—apart from his jealousy at being superseded by Riccio—have become convinced that Mary, by the place she was giving Riccio in her counsels, was ruining her influence in Scotland, and that she could only be saved by severance from him. That would necessarily imply the sacrifice of her ambition to obtain the English succession by force; and indeed now that the danger from Elizabeth was past, and that Mary was now known to be with child, Maitland became convinced that the best chance of the Scottish succession lay in cultivating the friendship of England.

Having therefore, after a long silence, received a friendly letter from Cecil, he on February 9th expressed his pleasure at learning his friendly sentiments towards Scotland, and continued thus: "I am sorry that any occasion hath bene thought fallen out to the contrary; yet praysed be God, nothing is on eyther part so far past but all may be reduced to the former state, if the ryght way be taken. Mary! I se no certayne way oneles we chop at the veary roote. Yow know wheare it lyeth, and so far as my jugement can

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 242.

reache, the soonar all thinges be packed up the les danger ther is off any inconvenientis."[1]

It is therefore by no means unlikely that Maitland, though not the first to suggest the conspiracy against Riccio, had some connection with the arrangement of its terms. But the exact part played by different individuals—including Knox, who approved the deed, and whose father-in-law, Lord Ochiltree, was one of the English exiles—cannot now be exactly determined.[2] Whether Maitland had direct communications with Darnley on the subject, or whether the King, as Ruthven and Morton asserted, was the direct adviser of the murder and employed George Douglas to obtain their assistance, or whether they employed George Douglas to entice the King and were themselves the originators of the plot, it is, from the nature of the case, impossible to decide ; and the question is of minor moment.

Morton, some have supposed, took the prominent part in the conspiracy he did, because the Great Seal had been, or was to be, taken from him and delivered to David ; but this story apparently had its origin in the misunderstanding of a precaution taken by the Queen against grants being made by Darnley without her authority. There is no evidence that Morton had any knowledge or suspicion that he was to be removed from the chancellorship, and indeed the less the Queen at this time offended the relatives of Darnley the better.

In any case Morton and Ruthven afterwards took God to witness that they had no particular quarrel against David,

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 255.

[2] Morton and Ruthven, in reply to Papal assertions, denied (*Scottish Papers*, ii 272) that any of the "ministers of Scotland were art or part" of the deed or "participate thereof"; but this is a somewhat qualified denial.

except his extreme dealing against their brethren, his counsel to suppress religion, break amity, etc. Finding the King "to have so heich ane quarrel against him"—as to the justice of which they express no opinion—they were content to take part in the deed.[1] The King's private quarrel was to them a secondary matter, though they made it their pretext for slaying Riccio; their aim in making away with him was not to oblige Darnley, but to find a means of bringing home the banished lords.

Darnley, on the other hand, was less concerned to be revenged on Riccio than to obtain the crown matrimonial; and it was only on condition of obtaining it that he agreed to facilitate the seizure of Riccio and give it his avowed sanction. But all the several parties being, from motives however different, at one in their hate of Riccio, to strike a bargain with each other was not a matter of great difficulty. The English ambassador Randolph—whom, however, Mary at last, after long forbearance of his treasons and his insolence, determined to send across the Border—was with Bedford an active encourager of the conspiracy, and is one of the main authorities on the different stages of its progress.

The conspiracy was thus patronised by Cecil, to whom, on February 25th, Randolph disclosed the nature of the bargain between Darnley and the banished lords;[2] and its character was known to Elizabeth, who expressed no disapproval, notwithstanding her previous determination not to recognise Darnley's kingship. Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven, all conspicuous for their adamantine nerve, agreed, as near relatives of Darnley, to dispose of Riccio, on condition that Darnley made satisfactory terms not only

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 274. [2] *Ibid.*, 258.

with them but with the banished lords, previously his own sworn enemies. In none of the articles was, however, any reference made to Riccio : all were of one mind that he should "be tane away," and all that was needful to arrange, was how the business should be set about.

Those of the rebel lords who signed the bond to Darnley were Argyll, Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree. They promised to support him in all his just and lawful acts against all his enemies, to procure that at the next Parliament after their return he should be granted the crown matrimonial for his lifetime, to maintain his title to the crown failing succession to the Queen, to maintain the religion established by the Queen after her arrival, to spare neither life nor death in setting forward Darnley's honour according to the word of God, to labour with the Queen of England for the relief of his mother and brother, and to support him against all foreign princes. On his part Darnley promised to obtain their remission, to stop their forfeiture, and restore their lands, to support them in the exercise of the reformed religion, and to maintain them as a good master should.[1]

Moray and the rebel lords had been summoned to appear before Parliament on Tuesday, March 12th, to answer for lèse-majesté ; and they in a manner determined to obey the summons, timing themselves to arrive in

[1] The conditions are included in Ruthven's *Narration*, frequently published. The original copy of the lords' promises is printed in the *Maitland Miscellany*, iii. 188-91. The copy made by Randolph is in the State Paper Office. Randolph states that the qualifications "lawful and just" before "actions," and "according to the word of God," after "honour," were added by the lords. These qualifications virtually placed Darnley entirely in their hands. Darnley's bond, which Moray kept in his possession, is printed in full in Hist. MSS. 6th Report, p. 641.

Edinburgh on the evening of Sunday the 10th; but on Saturday, before their arrival, "that which was intended" was, wrote Randolph, to be "executed,"[1] so that the responsibility for it should in no way rest on them.

Parliament had already been sitting for three days, and Edinburgh was full of the nobles and their retainers, while Bothwell, Huntly, Atholl and others of the Queen's more staunch adherents were lodging in Holyrood. Thus the presence of so many of the Douglases and their friends in the city attracted no particular notice. If we are to trust Ruthven, whose aim, after Darnley had betrayed the conspirators, was apparently to throw as much as possible of the blame of the assassination on Darnley, the conspirators would have been prepared to have taken Riccio "in his own chamber or passing through the close," and it was at Darnley's special wish, that he was "taken at supper time, sitting with her Majesty at the table, that she might be taunted in his presence, because she had not entertained her husband according to her accustomed manner as she ought of duty."

In the dusk of the March evening, therefore, certain picked friends and followers of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven began to make their way in different directions towards the open grounds near Holyrood, and some time before eight o'clock they had taken possession of all the exits and entrances of the palace. Meanwhile the supreme dupe Darnley—doubtless with some tremor, though pretty well primed with drink and jealousy—was proceeding by the private stair into the inner boudoir, where the Queen, the Countess of Argyll, Lord Robert, Bethune of Creich, Arthur Erskine, and Riccio were seated at supper.

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 265.

His visit was unexpected, for we must suppose that not for some months, if ever, had he supped at the same table as the Italian : but whether he appeared smiling, or embarrassed, or sulky, the Queen probably gave him a cordial welcome, and he took his place, as was his right, beside her.

Hardly, however, had he done so, when the supper party were startled at the appearance by the same entrance of the stern Ruthven, pale and haggard with illness, and clad in complete armour, who demanded that the now cowering Riccio should come forth of the Queen's "privy chamber, where he had been over long." Instantly the indignant Queen demanded of her husband if he knew anything of "that enterprise," who promptly, and with unscrupulous meanness, "denied the same." Thereupon she commanded Ruthven, whom the King had thus disowned, to leave her presence ; but Ruthven was made of other metal than the King, and besides, there were the armed men on the stairs ready to do their part should this be necessary. It is unlikely that Ruthven then indulged himself in the long harangue on Riccio's misdeeds, recorded in his narrative. His explanation was most probably shorter and ruder, but, at the end of it, he immediately turned to Darnley and bade him to "take the Queen your wife and sovereign to you." Had Darnley promptly done so, the scene in the chamber had been less disorderly and violent than it turned out to be, and Ruthven might at once without assistance have hustled Riccio—who had no friend there but the Queen—to his doom.

But the King's cue was to seem entirely innocent of the plot, and at Ruthven's injunction he "stood all amazed and wist not what to do." The Queen therefore at once rose, cool and fearless, and stood before Riccio, who took

refuge in the embrasure of the window, clinging with pitiful cries of "Save me! Save me!" to the plaits of her gown, and holding in his hand his drawn dagger. Erskine and Lord Robert now sought to lay hands on Ruthven, who drew his dagger with the words, "Lay no hands on me for I will not be handled!" Hardly had he spoken, when the small apartment was filled with a crowd of armed men, the table and chairs were overthrown in their rush towards their victim, and the wild scuffle would have taken place in darkness but for the presence of mind of the Countess of Argyll in seizing one of the candles as it was falling: there she stood, if somewhat perturbed, yet sufficiently self-possessed to hold the candle that lit up the furious uproar.

Ruthven, while the angry invaders made towards Riccio, now himself took hold of the Queen and placed her "into the King's arms," "beseeching her," so he wrote, "not to be afraid"—a quite superfluous exhortation. Then the mob of conspirators, maddened by the Queen's efforts to save the trusted servant, who had been aiding her so zealously in her grandiose ambition, dragged with curses and threats, and possibly blows, the shrieking wretch towards the ante-chamber.

The King afterwards affirmed that he had consented merely to Riccio's apprehension, not his murder;[1] and this is very probable, for Morton, Ruthven, and contemporary writers affirm that the intention was to have gone through the ceremony of a formal trial and execution; and Ruthven states that he directed them to take Riccio down "to the King's chamber, the privy way."

But whatever their first purpose may have been, the

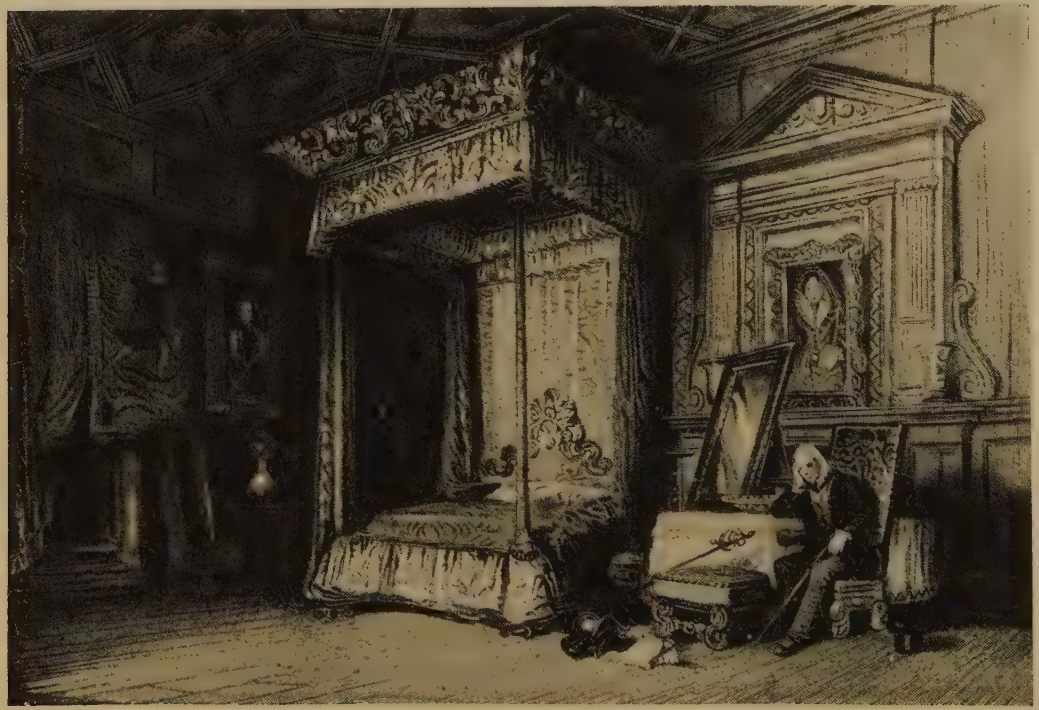
[1] MS. Oo 7, (47,) in the University of Cambridge.

impulse of hatred proved too much for their self-control: and hardly was their victim in the outer chamber than with one consent all near him struck at him with their daggers as best they could, some, in their eager fury, slightly wounding their companions. The body, mangled and bleeding from no fewer than fifty-six wounds, was then left by the assassins where they had struck him down, until the King had gone to bed, when Ruthven, the general master of the ceremonies, directed that it should be hurled down the stairs. It was then brought, so narrates the graphic Ruthven, "to the Porter's lodge, who taking off his cloaths, said this was his destiny; for upon this chest was his first bed when he came to this place, and now he lieth a very niggard and misknown knave." The King's dagger had, while the King was holding the Queen, been plucked from its sheath by George Douglas, the go-between in the conspiracy, and was now left by him sticking in Riccio's body, as witness of the King's consent to the deed.[1]

Certain lurid scenes of recrimination between the Queen, Darnley, and Ruthven may have been a little coloured by the desire of Ruthven to prejudice the Queen and King in public repute, for copies of the narrative were to be sent "to France, Scotland and elsewhere needfull"; but since the remarks of each disputant are in thorough keeping with their respective idiosyncrasies, they are probably substantially correct; and even as they are, they tell against rather than for the theory of a love intrigue between the Queen and her confidential servant: the Queen on this

[1] Randolph's first report to Throckmorton from Berwick, March 11th, was "that George Douglas took David, commyne into the Q. Chamber, by the bosome and dobbethe a whynarde to his harte, the K. standinge by and iustifyenge the same" (Add. MSS. (B. M.) 35,831 f. 261).

matter has much the best of the scolding. The excitement, sorrow, and almost despair created by the outrage were specially trying to the nerves of the Queen, by reason that she was nearly seven months gone with child; but her bearing, even as described by Ruthven, manifested nothing of the peculiar intensity of emotion that would have possessed her, had she had any passionate affection for Riccio. In such a case, brave and strong though she was, she must have been quite overcome. What chiefly sustained her was her sheer indignation at what she deemed an unjustifiable outrage, and her proud contempt for the stupid and indelicate reproaches with which the poor duped Darnley was now assailing her. "Suppose"—it is Darnley who is represented as speaking in Ruthven's *Narration*—"I be of mean degree, yet am I your husband, and you promised me obedience at the day of your marriage, and that I should be participant and equal with you in all things; but you have used me otherwise, by the perswasion of David. The Queen answered, my Lord, all the offence that is done me, you have the wite thereof, for the which I shall be your wife no longer, nor ly with you any more, and shall never like well till I cause you have as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present. Then the Lord Ruthven made answer, and besought her Majesty to be of good comfort, to entertain her husband and use the counsel of the Nobility, and then her government would be as prosperous as in any King's days. The said Lord Ruthven being sore fell'd with his sickness, and wearied with his travail desired her Majesty's pardon to sit down, and called for drink for God's sake; so a Frenchman brought him a cup of wine and after he drunk, her Majesty began to rail at him,



THE BEDROOM OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.
Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

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saying, is this your sickness? He answered, God forbid your Majesty had such a sickness. Then the Queen said, if she died of her child, or her commonweal perished, she would leave the revenge thereof to her friends, to be taken of the said Lord Ruthven and his posterity; for she had the King of Spain and the Emperor her great friends, and likewise the King of France her good-brother, with her uncles of Lorrain, besides the Popes Holiness, and many other princes in Italy. Ruthven answered, that these noble princes were over great personages to meddle with such a poor man as he was, being her Majesty's own subject. And what her Majesty said, that if she, or her child and Commonweal perished, the said Lord Ruthven would have the wyte thereof; he answered if any of these three perished, her Majesty's self and her particular Council should have the wyte thereof before God and the world; for there was no man within the Palace but would honour and serve her Majesty as became true subjects, and would suffer no harm to come to her body more than to their own hearts: And if any thing be done this night that your Majesty mislikes, the King your husband, and none of us, is in the wyte; which he confessed to be true."

Meanwhile Huntly, Bothwell, Atholl and others, alarmed at the uproar, were making efforts to force their way towards the Queen's apartments; but they soon saw they had no chance against so numerous a band, and passed to their chambers. Shortly afterwards, Ruthven, weak in body but indefatigable in spirit, ventured himself in their midst, to explain the cause of the tumult, and informed them that he and his friends had taken vengeance on Riccio at the instance of the King. There-

upon they shook hands and drank together ; but Bothwell and Huntly were by no means so satisfied with his explanations as they professed to be, and, learning that Moray and his friends were expected on the morrow, they deemed it advisable to make their escape by a low window. Their escape may be reckoned the beginning of the conspirators' ill-luck. Their aim in escaping was partly to aid the Queen ; and though she thought it better not to avail herself of their plan—secretly communicated to her—of taking her over the walls of the palace by means of ropes and chairs, had they not been at large, her own escape had done her little service.

Afterwards Atholl, Sutherland, Caithness, Maitland, Sir James Balfour and others were allowed by the King, at Ruthven's suggestion, to take their leave—it being apparently deemed better that they should be absent during the contemplated negotiations with the Queen. During the uproar, the alarm had spread to the city, and a concourse of armed citizens proceeded to the palace, but quietly dispersed on being assured by Darnley that all was well. The Queen, so strictly guarded that she could scarce communicate with her maid-servants, passed the night in uneasy pacing backwards and forwards in her chamber, a prey probably less to misgivings as to her own fate than to almost uncontrollable feelings of rage and disappointment ; but her blockish husband, still, we must believe, thoroughly satisfied with his evening's work, and quite hardened against the sorrows of his wife, slept, in his own apartment below, the undisturbed sleep of the just.[1]

[1] The only original authorities for the circumstances of the assassination are Ruthven's *Narration*, frequently printed in Scottish histories and separately ; and Mary's letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in Labanoff, i. 341-50,

On the morrow, proclamation was made in the King's name proroguing the Parliament, and ordering the members of the Estates to disperse to their homes. Throughout the day Mary continued to be held a prisoner in her room, and the service of her ordinary guard was also forbidden. Since it was Sunday—or perhaps more properly, in the new jargon, Sabbath—it was hardly fitting, according to precise Protestant notions, to discuss matters of state ; and, besides, the conspirators were awaiting the arrival of Moray and his friends. After dinner, Darnley looked in on his royal spouse and prisoner, who expressed to him her fears of a miscarriage, and complained that she could get none of her gentlewomen to wait on her, upon which, by order of Morton, they were admitted ; but word being brought that she intended to steal out "among the throng of her gentlewomen," guards were placed at the door of the apartments below to allow no one muffled to pass out. Evidently however the lords mistook her aim, which was to get an opportunity of passing out letters to Bothwell, Huntly and others.

That same evening Moray and his friends alighted at the Abbey, whence they went to supper at Morton's house, which was close at hand. On learning of her brother's arrival the Queen sent for him, and, says Ruthven, "received him pleasantly." According to Sir James Melville, she embraced and kissed him, exclaiming that if he had been there he would not have seen her so uncourteously handled.[1] Moray thereupon, alleges Melville, was moved

and Keith, ii. 411-23; and to the King and Queen [mother] of France in *Venetian State Papers*, vii. 375-8. The various reports of Bedford and Randolph are founded either on Ruthven's *Narration* or on the statements of Morton, Ruthven and others after they fled to England.

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 150.

to tears; and Mary herself affirms that on account of her condition and treatment he was "moved with natural affection towards us."

This, taken in connection with Mary's declaration to Darnley, as reported by Ruthven, that he himself was mainly to blame that they were so long away, and that she could be content to have them home at any time but for "angering him," suggests that Darnley's jealousy of Moray and the Duke had much to do with the quarrel; and that but for his stupid temper, Mary might not have been impelled towards her desperate courses.

Further, Nau asserts that Moray swore by his God that he knew nothing of the murder of Riccio until his arrival;[1] and there is clear evidence that the Queen, whose knowledge of the real character of the conspiracy was as yet but vague, and who never had had cause to doubt her brother's general truthfulness, believed him, though we cannot interpret his solemn asseverations as more than a mere subterfuge; for, since even Randolph and Bedford knew all about the plot, it could hardly have been hid from Moray and his friends.[2] All that can be said for Moray—and it is not much—is that he was not responsible for the manner of the deed, nor for the outrage on the Queen, and could not know that Riccio was actually dead, until those

[1] *Life of Mary*, p. 13.

[2] Writing to Throckmorton on March 11th, from Berwick, Randolph says: "I am gladde onse a gayn to here of the Scottis rattle begyn to worke. My L. of Mar [he means Moray] departed thorowe this town yesterdaye Sondaye convaide ii. miles into Scotland by my L. of Bed., and mette w^th^ my L. Hume with iii^c^. horse, iacke and speare, hable, tawle men in fier of warre —ther repayre vnto hym the whole contrye as he passethe, and so that nyght and in that sorte maketh his entrie into Edenb." And he states that at Dunbar, Moray's friends informed him of Riccio's murder (Add. MSS. [B.M.], 35,8,31, f. 261).

of his co-conspirators who had so distinguished themselves in the assassination made known to him the sad intelligence. But in view also of Randolph's story that the Queen's shameful conduct with Riccio was the real cause of her brother's disagreement with her, Moray's pretended ignorance of any design against Riccio is startling enough.

But whatever the sentiments and purposes towards each other of the Queen and her brother, they deemed it now expedient to assume towards each other an aspect of extra friendliness; and with Moray as mediator between her and the conspirators, and Darnley as a seemingly, though far from, harmless envoy, some apparently important, but entirely delusive, steps were taken towards conciliation. On the Sunday the King and Queen had in a manner made up their quarrel; and it was suggested to him by the unabashed conspirators, who wished to make their own use of him, that the Queen and he should pass the night together; but he fell asleep early and would not be roused.

The weak point in the position of the conspirators was that they needed a sort of double-natured Darnley —a Darnley with a character sufficiently strong to be proof against the blandishments of the Queen, and yet a Darnley with such absolute lack of character and cleverness that he would be as clay in their own hands. Had he not been the dastard he was, they might, through him, have had a pretty strong hold on the Queen—provided, that is, that his and their political aims had been identical; but they were here again faced by the difficulty that he was concerned only about his own interests, and that their only hold on him was the power to flatter his vanity, by a pretended offer to secure for him

the crown matrimonial. Moreover, their position was weakened by the very means they had taken to strengthen it, for now that Riccio was gone, Darnley's jealousy had nothing to feed itself on. For all these reasons, in seeking now to utilise Darnley, for the time being, with the Queen, in order to achieve the first step in the process of befooling both him and her, they were merely preparing for themselves a most unpleasant surprise.

By Monday forenoon the Queen, most likely, had practically won Darnley over ; though she may not, even then, have confided to him her intentions, she had, we must believe, convinced him of the utter foolishness of the part he had permitted himself to play. At first she apparently hoped that the lords would permit her to leave the palace under the charge of her husband ; and to work on their feelings, she professed to be again threatened with a miscarriage, which the nurses and doctors were kind enough to declare could hardly be prevented unless she could escape "from that place to some sweeter and pleasanter air." Ill as she was supposed to be, she therefore received the confederate lords in the outer chamber and formally pardoned them, offering to "put all things in oblivion as if they had never been." Afterwards she asked them to draw out articles for their security which she promised to subscribe, and, taking Moray by the one hand and Darnley by the other, she took exercise in the outer chamber for more than an hour.

There is no record of what must have been a very remarkable colloquy : but one of its results was that her excessively prudent and careful brother was put completely off his guard. His aim in the colloquy was to obtain from her a signed and sealed pardon for the conspirators ;

and she promised this with apparently such perfect frankness and goodwill, that to oppose her suggestion that they had really no reason for remaining longer in attendance on her, would seem highly ungracious. They also saw that if they insisted on remaining, she certainly would not sign the pardon; but it was apparently only the assurance of Moray, that induced them to entrust her for the night to the keeping of her husband.

The lords had no intention, be it remembered, of granting Mary her liberty even after they received the written pardon She already knew—knew it probably from Darnley; and she is necessarily the only authority for it, since the lords were never in a position which made it safe to disclose their intentions—that it was their purpose on the morrow to send her to Stirling, where, as Lindsay put it, she, in their opinion, would "have plenty of pastime in nursing her baby and singing it to sleep," while the King, guided by the nobles, remained in charge of affairs.[1]

After supper, Darnley came down for the articles that the Queen might sign them, and there and then arranged that the confederates should leave the palace, he himself undertaking to answer for the Queen's detention; and they were good enough, or fools enough, to leave the palace without obtaining the signed articles.

It is in nowise difficult to understand how Mary won over Darnley to aid her in her escape. No one was ever better cut out than he for the part of gull: his self-sufficiency was equalled only by his moral weakness; and besides, Mary had a very convincing case. That the conspirators had gulled him made it only the more easy for her to perform on him the same operation. She had

[1] Nau's *Life of Mary*, p. 31.

really no difficulty in revealing to him the dimensions of the mistake he had committed—that he had only succeeeded in ruining the great project she had in hand, for securing his and her accession to the English throne, and in bringing about the death of, as he at last admitted, a good and faithful servant, the like of whom he was not likely again ever to possess.[1]

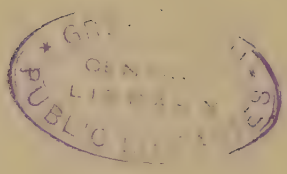
Darnley was thus, for the time being, in a manner hypnotised by the Queen, and under her directions readily played his part in deceiving his late co-conspirators in the matter of the signing of the articles, the removal of the guards from the palace, and his own guardianship of the Queen during the night. This having been effected, all was comparatively easy.

The conspirators probably set no guards of their own round the palace. But since Mary could not tell what arrangements they might have made, it was arranged with Arthur Erskine that horses and attendants should be in waiting outside the walls of the royal cemetery; and at midnight the Queen—nominally under the protection of her heroic husband, though in reality she was merely spiriting him away from his late confederates—passed through the King's bedroom and thence to the offices of her butlers and cup-bearers, Frenchmen all, and entirely devoted to her. Receiving no doubt from them, either audibly or in silence, the best of good wishes for her safe journey, she passed on to a door leading to the burial-ground. By an unlooked-for mischance, their way took them close past the new-made grave of the poor Italian, whereupon the King is said to have started and emitted a troubled exclamation. On the Queen asking what was the matter, he, with

[1] Nau's *Life of Mary*, p. 16.

After a painting by G. Arnold, A.R.A.

DUNBAR CASTLE.



characteristic lack of discretion, remarked that they had just passed the grave of her servant, on whom, if we are to trust Nau, he then proceeded to pass a fatuous but high-wrought eulogy. Whether he did or did not is of little moment; but if he did, it must have sorely tried the Queen's patience, and it would have been small wonder if she did reply, as Darnley's friends recorded, "sayinge it shoulde go very hard w^t^ her but a fatter than he should lye nere of him ere one twel month were at an end."[1] But since silence was, on such an occasion, golden, we must suppose that, in the case of both, more was thought than uttered.

Happily they found the escort at their post, and in an instant they were in the saddle and moving through the keen air of the March midnight towards Dunbar. The King rode his own horse, the Queen rode pillion behind Arthur Erskine; and Stewart of Traquair, a servant of the King's bedchamber, and one or two soldiers rode behind to hamper pursuit, should that be attempted.

The best method of flight, the Queen's health being considered, was an easy trot, and this method was the least likely to attract notice; but as soon as they had cleared the town, Darnley, according to Nau,[2] in panic dread, apparently, at the wrath his treachery would arouse, spurred his horse for a time into full gallop, so that Arthur Erskine, with the Queen, had much difficulty in keeping up with him. Seeing also some soldiers keeping guard at the outskirts of Seton, his panic, which had partly subsided, was renewed in a more acute form than ever, and, with the words "Come on, come on!" he went behind the

[1] MS. Oo 7 (47) in Cambridge University Library.

[2] *Mary Stuart*, p. 17.

Queen's horse to urge it on faster, until its bounding motion so discomforted the Queen that she had to command him to desist, and suggested—doubtless with inexpressible inward bitterness and disgust—that he should push on and save himself; which, without realising the character of her rebuke, he was, according to Nau, base enough to do.

Such a feat, if he was really guilty of it, must have snapped the last chord of the Queen's affection for Darnley, supposing any slight tendrils of it still remained; while it could not but intensify the contempt felt towards him by the Queen's lords who received him and her at Dunbar. The sight of its strong walls must have been inexpressibly welcome to the Queen, who, as she wrote to Elizabeth, "tyrit and evil at ease" after the horrors and griefs of the preceding days, followed by the toil of her long ride, prevented her terrible experiences proving fatal either to herself or her unborn child, mainly by the strength of her own indomitable spirit.

CHAPTER IX

THE DEATH OF DARNLEY

THE dismay of the conspirators when they learned of the Queen's flight may be more easily imagined than described ; and as was their dismay, so must have been their wrath at the treachery of Darnley, whom, however, they must have meant to serve very much as he had served them. The flight of the Queen would have been less disastrous to them, had she left her husband on their hands. She carried him off with her, not for his sake but for her own, and, in a manner, for theirs : she wished to remove from them the temptation to rebel anew against her.

Darnley's escape with his wife was doubly disastrous to the conspirators. Besides being left without a figure-head that might afford them a pretence for usurping the government, they had been practically disowned by him, in whose name they had undertaken the conspiracy. Not only were they thus deprived of any ground of accusation against the Queen, but any pretence they might now make to interfere with her became even more unwarrantable than that which had lately resulted in the humiliating flight of Moray and his friends to England ; while they now knew that even if Elizabeth should secretly sympathise with them, it would be vain to look to her for any external help. The only

hope left them was the forlorn one that the Queen, now that she was at liberty—not only without any help of theirs, but entirely in opposition to their intentions—would be weak enough to sign and seal the articles of pardon. With a consummate assumption of innocence they therefore sent Lord Semple—who had taken no part in the conspiracy—to Dunbar, to secure for them this guarantee of their lives and goods. There was just the chance that the Queen did not know the intentions they had been cherishing towards her; but she either knew them or guessed them, and, this being so, it is small wonder that Semple's proposal was, as Ruthven pretended to complain, "evil taken by the Queen," who detained him three days at Dunbar, so as to keep the conspirators in suspense until she had perfected her plans.

The Queen's aim was to break up the conspiracy against her; and, with this view, she did actually offer full pardon to those of the lords who had been lately in the rebellion, and resolved to put to the horn only those who had taken an active part in the assassination of Riccio. This ruse proved effectual. Most of the lords, still smarting from the sad experiences resulting from their previous rashness, were not in a mood to repeat the experiment. On her invitation they therefore went singly to her to receive their pardon—"the first," says Randolph, "being Glencairn, next Rothes and Argyll, and so every one after other." Only Moray, with the laird of Pitarrow and Kirkcaldy of Grange, stood on their "honour and promise" to Morton and his friends;[1] but after such important dissensions, it was vain to hold out; and indeed Morton and his friends were acute enough to discern that not only could Moray

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 269 70.

From the picture in the possession of the Earl of Morton.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

do them no good by holding out, but that it would be greatly to their advantage to have at court so powerful a friend as Moray.

In asking, therefore, Moray and his friends, no longer "to forbear for their cause to agree with the Queen," they were probably actuated as much by enlightened self-interest as by magnanimous regard to the welfare of their old associates. There was also reason in the advice of the entirely practical Parson of Flisk—the notable Sir James Balfour—to Moray, "to stonde no longer in defence of those that committed the laste attemptate, seinge the Kynges self dothe repent yt and confessethe that he was abused";[1] and whatever Moray's future purposes in regard to the Queen or Darnley, the only wise policy, he could for the time being pursue, was to let bygones as much as possible be bygones.

Disowned thus by Darnley, and deprived of the support of the former rebel lords, the assassinators had nothing for it but flight; and on Sunday morning, March 17th, "with all thair complices and men of weir, with dollorous hartis departit of Edinburgh towart Linlithgow"; and finally the principal leaders took refuge in England. Maitland, who seems to have been denounced by Darnley and had also an enemy in Bothwell, went to Atholl until he could make his peace with the Queen, who meanwhile had conferred his abbacy of Haddington on Bothwell in reward of the succour he had given her; and Knox, who apparently supposed that there was some kind of evidence against himself, left the city—notwithstanding the influence of Bothwell, with whom he had the bond of the old Scottish "kindness" [kinness]—in the afternoon of

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 270.

the same day, "with ane great murnynge of the Godlie," and took refuge in Argyllshire.[1]

On the Monday the Queen, accompanied by Bothwell, Huntly, Marischal, Hume, and Seton, and a powerful cavalcade of their followers, numbering some three thousand or more, entered Edinburgh in triumph, riding, notwithstanding her advanced pregnancy, gaily on horseback. She did not however return to the scene of the late horrors, but, after lodging for a short time in the High Street, took up her residence in the castle.

On the 20th the conspirators, who had fled, were summoned to answer for the murder, and on the following day proclamation was made at the market cross of "our soverane lordis" innocency of connection with the slaughter, the conspiracy, or the detention of the Queen, although he had consented to the homecoming of the English lords "without the consent and favour of our souerane lady."[2] The proclamation was made more to vindicate the Queen than her husband. It was important for her reputation to have it proclaimed that the King did not approve of Riccio's slaughter; and, for a similar reason, she pretended to suppose that Moray and the English lords had as little connection with the slaughter of Riccio as Darnley had. Her present aim also was to reconcile the various factions; and she succeeded in inducing Bothwell—who was now her right-hand man—to tolerate Moray, who, with his supporters in such a condition of confusion and rout, had no option but for the time being to tolerate Bothwell, though the sham friendship of the strangely assorted pair is one of the least edifying episodes of Moray's chequered career.

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 94. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

From an old print.

EDINBURGH CASTLE.

So far the triumph of the Queen was apparently complete, and her rule, to all outward seeming, more firmly established than it had been since her arrival in Scotland. The precise Protestants were in a state of collapse, and their one chief hope, the great and good Moray, was again in friendship with the "mammon of unrighteousness." Her recent trials seemed also to have taught the Queen the necessity of prudence and compromise; and besides, as the now anticipated mother of a child, probably destined to unite the two kingdoms under a common crown, she had special claims on the sympathy and goodwill of the more patriotic Scots. Yet appearances greatly belied the reality: her position was more perilous and difficult than ever, and, in all likelihood, the political outlook had to herself never appeared so dark. The assassination of Riccio had burst the bubble of her great project for the overthrow of Elizabeth. The political hopes which had hitherto been her polestar had vanished, and had left her to drift at random on a very troubled sea. She had suffered what she must have deemed an almost irretrievable misfortune. How out of the present political chaos she was to evolve the order necessary for her final great political triumph, must have passed her comprehension. Her ambitions had received a deadly wound, and, since they had hitherto been nearly her all, she must have felt almost as if the chords of her life had snapped.[1]

What made Mary's position still fuller of despair was that she was burdened with the incubus of the husband whose hopeless incapacity had destroyed her day-dream.

[1] Various references in the correspondence of the time show the broken threads of her great conspiracy, and how intently she had been intriguing for its success.

Darnley was now seeking to make amends for his connection with the conspiracy by causing those "he knoweth or rather suspecteth to have been privie to the assassination, to be apprehended and imprisoned";[1] but this made him only more odious in the eyes of the Queen, who had "no good opinion" of such zeal in "now making himself to be the accuser and pursuer of them that dyd as he willed them." Randolph also, on April 4th, reported that the Queen had now seen the bonds between him and the lords, and had found that his declaration before her and the Council of his innocency of the death of David was false; and was also grievously offended "that by their means he should seek the crown matrimonial."[2] But in fact the Queen, whatever she might have thought fit to pretend, must be credited with but small perspicacity, if she did not, from the time that Ruthven followed hard on Darnley into the fatal supper-room, feel convinced that Darnley had been induced to bring him there to compass Riccio's death.

It was advisable for Mary to utilise her dastardly husband for her own vindication, and to cause him to publish to the world that Riccio had been assassinated without his sanction, and entirely for political reasons. But so soon as his declaration had served her purpose, she ceased her friendship with him, and treated him as the mere nonentity that he was. She had, indeed, hardly other option, so impossible had he made himself. His baseness and weakness were too evident not only to her but to the lords of every party, and he had no friend of any influence left him in Scotland. Besides, he was not content with the mercy the Queen had shown him; he was in no way humiliated by the sorry figure he had cut; he was as

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 273. [2] *Ibid.*, 275

bent as ever on obtaining the crown matrimonial, and within a week he had become as jealous of Bothwell as he had been of Riccio. Rumours of the hatred between him and Bothwell had reached Drury at Berwick early in April, and he also reported that the "displeasure abates not between the King and Queen, but rather increases, insomuch that Darnley had with thirteen or fourteen horse ridden towards Stirling with the purpose of renewing the conspiracy with Argyll and Moray."[1] Drury further adds that his purpose was prevented by a warning sent them by the Queen through Robert Melville; but if she did send the warning, it was superfluous, for neither Moray nor any other noble in Scotland would now dream of making any bargain with Darnley, whose mere foolishness was more dangerous than the most subtle guile; and indeed, Randolph on May 13th, wrote to Cecil that Argyll and Moray had "suche myslykinge of their Kinge as never was more of man."[2]

But in view of the anticipated birth of an heir to the crown, feuds and quarrels were for the time in abeyance. The Queen, however foolishly or rashly she may have been acting, now manifested a temper of mind thoroughly appropriate to such a great and critical occasion. Though she must have felt in her heart that her future relations with Darnley could never be other than miserable, she thought it fitting that the unkindness between them should be suspended, until fate had decided whether it was to be life or death with her or with the child. It was also in the highest degree advisable—in view of the Riccio scandal—that Darnley should patronise the birth;

[1] *For. Ser.*, viii. No. 298. [2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 278.

and she also prudently arranged that Argyll and Moray should take up their residence in the castle.

Bothwell had suggested that, as a guarantee against any attempt to bring home Morton and the other lords, Moray should meanwhile be placed in ward ;[1] but Mary was ever courageous, and she judged that the best method of preventing a conspiracy was to manifest her perfect confidence in her brother's good intentions ; though, in view of the attitude of Huntly and Bothwell towards him, she deemed it advisable not to include them among her guests. In her will she is said to have named Bothwell one of the commission of regency and to have omitted Darnley ; but Darnley's hopeless incompetence was sufficient reason for his omission.

No copy of the will has however been preserved : all that we have to indicate the character of her feelings towards the lords and Darnley is the testamentary inventory of her jewels,[2] which shows that she wished to die —if so it was ordained—on charitable terms with all parties. The Earl and Countess of Lennox, the Cardinal of Lorraine and other French relatives, and Argyll and Moray, no less than Huntly and Bothwell, are remembered. Nor was Darnley forgotten, though he was not specially remembered as a husband who had her full confidence and affection would have been. The gifts to him are not numerous nor of great value ; and she paid him a rather dubious compliment in bequeathing to him her nuptial ring with the words : "It was with this that I was married, I leave it to the King who gave it to me." In case the child survived her, all these bequests were, however, to be revoked in its favour.

[1] Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 154.

[2] Edited for the Bannatyne Club by Joseph Robertson.

Happily, or perhaps, as regards Mary herself, unhappily, both mother and child survived. Sir James Melville, who, he tells us, had been in the castle "praying nycht and day for her majesties gud and happy delyvery of a fair sonne," was between ten and eleven on the forenoon of Wednesday, June 19th, informed by Mary Beaton that a son had been born, and by 12 o'clock he was riding swiftly south to convey the news to Elizabeth. She and Mary were meanwhile on friendly terms, and on the 13th Elizabeth had written to her cousin a sympathetic letter, praying God to send her "aussy courte paine et aussy heureuse heur que vous mesmes en pouvez soubhaiter."[1] Indeed, Elizabeth, though resolved never to be guilty of the weakness of acknowledging her rival as her heir, probably bore her no particular ill-will. Their rivalry emanated rather from fate than from themselves. Elizabeth, we must suppose, recognised that she had been demanding more from Mary than she herself, had their positions been reversed, would have been prepared to give her. Yet, making allowance, as she apparently did, for Mary's peculiar position, the birth of a new presumptive heir to the English as well as the Scottish crown placed Elizabeth, who had no hopes of ever having a child, at a certain increased disadvantage; and the story which reached Melville as to her reception of the news, when it was told her late on Sunday evening at Greenwich, bears all the internal marks of substantial veracity: "Hir Majeste was in gret merines and dancing efter supper; but sa schone as the Secretary Cecill soundit the newes in hir ear of the Prince birth all merines was layed asyd for that nycht; every ane that wer present marveling what mycht move sa sodane a chengement; for the Quen sat down

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 284.

with hir hand upon her haffet [cheek] and boursting out to some of hir ladies, how that the Quen of Scotlandis was leichter of a faire sonne, and that sche was bot a barren stok."[1]

With the recovery of the Queen the problem of Darnley became to all parties a more embarrassing one than ever. Killigrew, who had now succeeded Randolph as ambassador in Edinburgh, reported to Cecil on June 24th that, notwithstanding the birth of the young Prince, there was small account made either of Darnley or Lennox.[2]

Meanwhile Darnley was in a manner protected by the feud still subsisting between the party of Moray, including Mar and Atholl, and the party of Bothwell and Huntly, although Killigrew stated—and doubtless with truth—that Bothwell's credit with the Queen was more than all the rest together. Yet Mary had evidently no desire that her brother should come to harm. Whatever her motives, she now did her utmost to promote peace and reconciliation; and when Bothwell proposed again to make use of the valuable services of Darnley as dupe, so as to induce Darnley's relative, George Douglas, on condition of a remission, to declare Moray, Maitland and others to have been the main devisers of the murder,[3] she declined to countenance any such plot. For one thing she was perhaps now past accepting any kind of service from Darnley; and at this stage she probably shrank from placing herself wholly in the power of Bothwell. The accusation of Moray would certainly mean this, and much more than this—it might mean a revolution. This possibility she was **not** at present prepared to face.

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 158. [2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 289
[3] Morton to Forster, *Scottish Papers*, ii. 296.

After a painting formerly in the possession of James Erskine, Esq., of Alva.

JOHN, EARL OF MAR,
Regent of Scotland.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

True, the ruin of Moray would in the long run secure riddance from Darnley, for to assist in ruining Moray was probably the last service that Bothwell would require of him: once Moray was away, Bothwell would no doubt next contrive to get quit of Darnley; but all these possibilities were too dreadful for her to contemplate, in her sober senses, without shrinking from them. The future was indeed a dark conundrum for her—all the darker by reason of her wild sentiments of revolt against her husband. If she endeavoured with any earnestness to forecast what might happen to her, she could hardly escape the visitation of at least vague presentiments of evil. She was now, perhaps, beginning to recognise that in her relations with Bothwell she was ceasing to be quite mistress of herself; and she may have been instinctively clinging to the indirect protection of her brother to save her in a manner from her infatuation. With Moray away there was nothing between her and entire submission to Bothwell; and at this early stage of the enamourment she may have been vaguely fighting against her passion.

Nevertheless, Mary had apparently almost made up her mind to be done with Darnley, whatever the issue might be. A change of air and scene was now desirable for her, and either at the suggestion of Mar, the governor of Edinburgh Castle, or owing to a request of her own to him, she now arranged to pay a visit to his seat at Alloa. It was a natural enough arrangement; but her manner of proceeding to Alloa was strangely clandestine. According to the earliest version of the story, more rhetorically elaborated in Buchanan's *Detection*, she "past secretlie ane day in ye morning to ye Newhavin and befoir ony knew sche enterit in ane boit conductit be ville blacatter,

edmond blacatter, leonard robertson, thome diksone, and thre fallowis, notorius pyratis, avowit men and dependaris of ye said erll bothuell in quhais cumpany sche past to alloway, to ye greit admiratioun of all honest persounis, that sche suld hazardit her persoun amangis a sort of sic ruffanis," etc.[1]

Bothwell was evidently not in her company, though she had found it needful to have recourse to him to provide her a means of escape. She was also, we must suppose, accompanied by certain personal attendants; and the "notorious pirates," if so they were, treated her, we must believe, with loyal respect; her easy friendliness must at once have captivated their hearts; and, after all that she had lately passed through, the voyage up the Firth, on the beautiful summer day, was most likely a quite soothing and delightful experience. But of course such a sudden and secret journey to Alloa was bound to give rise to some perplexed comment. Buchanan, in his rhetorical fashion, makes the most of the eccentricity: and that it implied that there was something wrong in her relations with Darnley is indisputable.

Whatever at this period may have been the character of Mary's sentiments towards Bothwell, it is evident that she had ceased to have any liking for the company of her husband. Her journey seems to have been almost a panic flight from him; and her rather boisterous method of amusing herself at Alloa and Stirling with dancing and masques and other giddinesses, only vaguely specified by the too vituperative Buchanan, may be taken as evidence of her mental perturbation and excitement. That then Darnley followed her to Alloa from Stirling "he haid scars to repois

[1] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University.

hym, his servandis and hors wythe meit, quhane it behuiffit hym depart or do war" [1] we can hardly doubt to be plain fact, nor as little that during the hunting in August in Megatland and Glenartan—at which Moray, Mar and Bothwell were present—he was made to understand by her that his company was entirely distasteful to her.

According to "Advertisements out of Scotland" about this time, the Queen told her brother that Darnley had threatened to kill him, and this, in his characteristically sulky manner, Darnley seems to have admitted.[2] What was the purpose of the Queen in giving Moray this unpleasant intelligence—if she did give him it—can only be guessed; but it is at least likely that she wished to let her brother know that he had no cause to go out of his way to befriend Darnley, that Darnley had in fact become a kind of general nuisance, the enemy of himself and of every one else. She was now, outwardly, on the best of terms with her brother, whom she was backing against Bothwell's efforts to prevent the return of Maitland to the court. Moray seems to have been striving to regain his influence over her, so as to oust or hold in check Bothwell and establish the *statu quo ante* his quarrel with her; but Mary evidently intended to utilise him and Maitland only so far as suited her own purposes.

Bothwell, on account of Maitland's subtlety, probably feared him even more than he hated him; but Mary had, as yet, a mind of her own, and on August 28th Maitland was permitted to come to Stirling to make his peace with her. About a week afterwards, she left for Edinburgh, and on September 20th Maitland was able to

[1] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University Library.
[2] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 650.

report to Cecil that having been reconciled to Bothwell by Mary in the presence of Argyll and Moray, he had now resumed his old duties.[1]

Mary had come to Edinburgh to "sit in her Exchequer," for the purpose of going over accounts and making arrangement regarding her own household and that of the young Prince,[2] now to be placed under the guardianship of the Earl of Mar. While she was staying at the Exchequer House, Bothwell, according to statements afterwards embodied in Buchanan's *Detection*, succeeded in having relations with her. Buchanan, for his rather sensational details—including what he deems the ludicrous mishap to the corpulent go-between Lady Rires, whose weight was too much for the belt by which she was let over the wall—quotes the confession of George Dalgleish; but if Dalgleish made any revelation of the kind it was suppressed.

For the actual fact of the first admission of Bothwell into the house by Lady Rires, without the Queen's knowledge, Buchanan's authority is her confession to her brother Moray and to his mother, the lady of Lochleven; and though we have no corroboration of Buchanan's story, it is at least possible that the confession was made when, as Nau relates, Mary at the Castle of Lochleven gave birth to still-born twins. If the Queen and Bothwell were thus intimate before the death of Darnley, this would perhaps explain better than any other hypothesis the part taken by the Queen in luring Darnley to Edinburgh; and it is more consistent with the general tone of the remarkable Letter II., which I propose to regard as genuine. The tone of the letter is more that of a woman afraid

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 300. [2] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 706.

that her lover might become tired of her and might not be prepared—if the phrase in this connection may be allowed—to make her an "honest woman," than that of one who was still courting or being courted. The death of Darnley was more imperative in the former case than in the latter, and more imperative for the Queen than for Bothwell, to whom she makes a quite humble, and almost deprecating, appeal to be true to her and remove all the obstructions in the way of her becoming his wife. But however that may be, the story of Mary and Bothwell is, in essentials, the very common story of the modern Divorce Court: a marriage *de convenance*; a high-spirited and clever wife; a husband discovered to be lacking in those qualities of manhood that are the woman's ideal; a lover not, it may be, intrinsically a better man than the husband, but possessing certain speciosities that take the fancy of the woman, who, made venturesome by her disgust and despair, instinctively encourages and cultivates her new passion, as an anodyne for her nuptial sorrows. In the case of Mary with Bothwell there are, however, peculiarities of circumstance and situation that confer on her aberration a certain uniqueness, and lift it into the region of high tragedy. While the impelling power was for various reasons almost as resistless as fate, the consequences were certain to be extremely dire.

By virtue of her past training and experiences combined with her domestic misfortune and the political catastrophe that had overtaken her, Mary was foredoomed to moral calamity almost without a chance of escape: she was in a current that was hurrying her straight to an abyss. Her domestic quarrel was now past patching up. Not only had Darnley, by effecting the assassination of her con-

fidential servant, given her deep personal offence—affronted her before the world, and ruined, as she thought, her political future—but so unfit was he still showing himself to be her consort, that he was seriously endangering her sovereignty ; and while also his defects of character were apparently beyond hope of cure, his sense of his wrongs was as bitter and keen as was her own.

Then up till now Mary had been, in a manner unconsciously, sacrificing herself, her womanly nature—strong, affectionate, impulsive, passionate—to her ambition ; and she had sacrificed it in vain. She was now suffering from the shock of an almost overwhelming political disappointment. She had not succeeded in freeing herself from the thraldom of the nobles ; she was as far as ever from obtaining recognition of her right of succession to the English throne ; and she was less than ever a free and independent sovereign of Scotland. Life at this juncture must have seemed to her almost empty and void, for though naturally of a kind and benevolent disposition, her chief interest had been centred not in the promotion of the welfare of a country in which she was almost an alien, but in a great project for her own supreme glorification. Her sense of utter defeat gave a new power to the instincts of her womanhood, hitherto in a manner repressed by her ambition, and it rendered still less endurable the ties that bound her to Darnley. Thus, under the powerful compulsion of a double disappointment, she sought to fill up the blank in her hopes by surrendering herself to a passion for Bothwell as completely as she had previously surrendered herself to her daydreams of worldly glory. She was so constituted that she could not but take life keenly ; half-heartedness in anything was impossible to her ; and her passion for

Bothwell became so absorbing as to make her heedless of all consequences.

If it be said that Bothwell was quite unworthy of the devotion of any self-respecting woman, it may be answered that he succeeded in winning the devotion of several such, including his wife, the sister of Huntly. It is only too well known that the strength of the love passion may be greater towards an unworthy than a worthy object: it often requires for its creation little more than some kind of suggestion of worthiness—the existence, or supposed existence, of certain qualities that may be exaggerated or idealised so as to produce a strong passionate delusion. The resistless attraction of one personality for another has but little to do with reason; it has more to do with a kind of hypnotism.

Bothwell exercised quite exceptional influence over women, as many a man of similar characteristics has done. He was not, be it remembered, the mere coarse brawler and bully he is often represented to have been. His life, it is true, was notoriously loose, his conversation over his cups was profanely cynical; before his adventures with the Queen he had an exceptional reputation for a kind of impious recklessness. But his recklessness implied courage; and while possessed of high daring and of great physical force, he was not a mere dull-headed braggadocio. His mental ability was by no means slight, and he had received a much better education than the average Scottish noble of his time. His literary tastes were evidenced in his possession of an excellent library; he had given such attention to the sciences that he was reputed to be learned in the black arts; and he had studied the art of war by perusal of the ancient classic authors. He was able to write

French with a certain elegance ; he had much of the outward polish of the French *galant*. While in command of the Scots Guard in France he had had familiar intercourse with many of Mary's old friends, and in conversation with him she was able to renew the memories of a country associated with her happiest days. Then his bold and foolhardy disposition specially appealed to Mary, who, as Knollys later remarked to Cecil, delighted to "here of hardness and valiancy." [1] His very virility of will, compared especially with Darnley's "heart of wax," was a great satisfaction to her. She could not but know something of his peculiar faults : he did not have a saintly reputation ; but royal and noble dames of the period had not a very saintly choice of lovers. Then it so happened that at this time she depended almost wholly on him for her supremacy. Her fortunes were bound up with his from the time that she fled to Dunbar. He had succoured her in her uttermost extremity—when her crown, her liberty, perhaps her life, were all but lost. She was bound to him by ties of the deepest gratitude, and for her future security she had almost no guarantee but in his help. There is no reason to suppose that, jealous though he was—as he had good reason to be—of Moray and Maitland, he either directly or indirectly made any bargain with her as to his reward. But the two had necessarily to consult much together, and he was not the man to neglect his opportunities of making an impression on a lady's heart, while the Queen was very much in a mood to succumb to his influence. Her utter loneliness, together with the burden of her hopeless husband, hardly gave her a chance of resistance. But this being so, the tragedy was bound speedily to deepen, for it was

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 428.

not an ordinary case. It was the case of a Queen, and of a Queen a large proportion of whose subjects were, on account of a bitter religious feud, intensely bent on her ruin. Her one hope of salvation was to get rid of Darnley. But this was an entirely delusive hope. She did get rid of him, but it was at the cost of her crown ; and her hope was thus a mere will-o'-the-wisp luring her towards destruction.

Meanwhile the pitiful Darnley was unconsciously acting in the manner best fitted to play into Mary's hands, and thus to tempt her onwards towards the fatal goal. He was doing his utmost to make himself an object of general contempt, although the accusers of the Queen are probably right in supposing that she was now encouraging his discontent—that she was doing her utmost to ignore his existence and drive him to despair. According to the original document of which the *Detection* is a rhetorical amplification, Darnley while at Stirling in the end of August and beginning of September was "in a manner exiled from her presence," and when he followed her to Edinburgh "and w^t^ all humilitie requiryt hir favour, and to be admitted to hir bed as hir husband," he "altogether was denyet."[1] While at Stirling, he told du Croc that he was in such a state of desperation that he had resolved to go to sea ; and Lennox, learning this, wrote to Mary that he had no power to divert him from his intended voyage and prayed the Queen to "use her interest therein."

Darnley's aim in making use of the threat was apparently to induce the Queen to restore to him the authority he possessed during the earlier days of the marriage, and even to confer on him the crown matrimonial. The same

[1] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University Library.

evening that the letter of Lennox arrived, Darnley himself, apparently at the instance of his father, came to Edinburgh, and after some demur, on account of the presence of certain lords whom he deemed his enemies, consented to enter the palace. He was then conducted by the Queen to her own apartments, where, according to a letter of the Privy Council, he is stated to have "remained all night," and where, according to du Croc, "when he and the Queen were a-bed together," the Queen "besought him to declare to her the ground of his designed voyage"; but in this he would by no means satisfy her.

Du Croc and the Privy Council appear, however, to have taken a great deal for granted. The conference was probably a short one, and Darnley must have passed the night in his own apartments, for the real state of the case seems to have been that he declined, as he afterwards in a letter declared, to be "at bed and board" with the Queen, unless she granted him his former power and consequence, and compelled certain nobles to treat him with more respect than they were doing; while she, preferring very much not to have him at "bed and board," was very far indeed from wishing to smooth the way towards a reconciliation. She was mainly bent on putting him in the wrong; and she virtually gave him to understand that she could in no way help him to be on better terms with the lords, for the simple reason, a reason which was substantially true, that he was himself entirely to blame for the manner in which the lords were treating him. According to Mary's own account, he declined to give her any reasons for his proposal to leave the country, but she probably discovered that he had no intention of carrying out his threat.

Next day, in the presence of the Council and du Croc,

he, according to the Council's letter, while refusing to "open his mind," would "not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared fully that the Queen had not given him any occasion for any." Though partly cowed, and resolved not to commit himself to any discussion of his wrongs in the presence of those whom he deemed his enemies, and with whose clever wits he knew he was unable to cope, he was as sulky and irreconcilable as ever, and as he left the room he turned to the Queen, saying "Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space"; he also bade du Croc a polite farewell, and turning to the lords in general he said, "Gentlemen, adieu."

On the whole it must be confessed that, since matters had now reached such a pass, Darnley had conducted himself as well as could be expected: reticence was at least better than loud-voiced anger; and indeed it was hardly becoming that he and the Queen should wash their dirty linen before the Council. Still, by his attitude of sulky silence he had no doubt confirmed, if that were needed, the bad opinion already entertained of him: he had appreciably strengthened the Queen's case; and had done much to facilitate the conspiracy that was to seal his fate.

On September 3rd, Mary wrote thus of the affair to his father: "Be his answer alsweill to our self as to our counsell, in Monsieur Le Croque's presence, he mysknowis that he hes ony sic purpos in hede or any caus of miscontente. But his speking is conditional, an thus we can vnderstand na thing of his purpos in that behalf."[1] Du Croc, "a wise, aged gentleman," to quote

[1] Sir William Fraser's *Lennox*, ii. 351. For the particulars of the affair the chief sources are the letters of the Privy Council and du Croc in Tenlet's *Relations*, ii. 282-93, translated in Keith, ii. 448-60.

Holinshed's words, and benevolently anxious to patch up a reconciliation between the Queen and her husband, expressed the conviction that Darnley would be unable to raise any disturbance, "for," said he, "there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any further than is agreeable to the Queen. And I never saw her Majesty so much beloved, esteemed and honoured ; nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects as at present is by her wise conduct." But things were by no means as to du Croc they seemed to be : of the actual sentiments and motives of the Queen he had not the faintest notion, no more than he had of the under-world of plot and intrigue that was soon to work such woe to Mary and to Darnley.

After the interview Darnley, in the words of his apologist, passed "agane to ye vest cuntrie to dryve over his cairful and miserable tyme" ;[1] while, not later than October 8th, Mary set out from Edinburgh to hold a justice eyre in Jedburgh. On the 7th Bothwell was wounded in his own country in an encounter with a famous Border riever, Elliot of Park. Some time afterwards, the Queen, accompanied by Moray and others, rode from Jedburgh to Bothwell's castle of the Hermitage, to visit him, returning to Jedburgh the same evening. It was a ride of some sixty miles over a very difficult country ; and although Mary was an admirable horsewoman, the feat, conjoined with anxiety and excitement, had too greatly taxed her strength, and a day or two after her return she was seized with an illness which for a time threatened to have a fatal result.

[1] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University Library.

After a painting by H. Weber.

HERMITAGE CASTLE.

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There has been much discussion as to whether Mary set out for the Hermitage immediately on learning of Bothwell's illness, or delayed doing so for some days; but the question is hardly of vital moment.[1] Even had she hastened as rapidly to the Hermitage as Buchanan in his *Detection* asserts, this could scarce have created surprise, considering the great services Bothwell had recently rendered her, and how valuable was his life to her on mere political grounds. Had she been in no degree under the spell of a personal attachment, the news of his accident was still bound to have caused her the deepest anxiety, since he it was who mainly stood between her and re-deliverance into the hands of her brother and the Protestants.

As to the actual truth of the incident, it seems most probable that on news reaching her at Borthwick of Bothwell's injury, she hurried rapidly to Jedburgh; but learning there that the wound was not so serious as at first reported, she remained at Jedburgh some days, until her anxiety compelled her to see for herself in what condition he was. This she did, properly chaperoned by her watchful brother; and she made arrangements that, as soon as Bothwell could be moved, he should be brought in a horse-litter to Jedburgh, where he occupied rooms in her lodgings below her own. At the time of his arrival she was still very ill; and on the 25th she had so severe an attack of muscular rigidity that, wrote Maitland to Cecil, for the space of half an hour her life was despaired of;[2] but her case was possibly not so dangerous as in those unskilled times it seemed to be; and by the persistence of the French

[1] For a good analysis of the evidence, see Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 415-16.

[2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 302.

physician Nau, in compelling the motion of the limbs, she gradually gave signs of consciousness, and from that time speedily recovered.[1]

During the period of their convalescence, Mary and Bothwell were thrown much together—doubtless to their mutual content, which, however, was slightly disturbed on the 28th by a visit from Darnley. Naturally her distaste for her husband was more acute than ever; and she took every possible means to render his visit unpleasant to him. The attendant lords had strict orders to give him no countenance; and since Bothwell was occupying the rooms in the Queen's lodgings that might have been his, it was with the utmost difficulty he obtained a lodging for the night. As the author of the *Diurnal*[2] puts it, he was "not so weill intertynigt as neid suld have bene"; and he had nothing for it but to set out on the morrow towards Stirling. His method of bringing the Queen to terms by holding aloof from her had of course availed him worse than nothing. Reconciliation between them had become, on Mary's part, a sheer impossibility, whatever it had become on his. Indeed, before his arrival she had confided to Maitland that one chief cause of her illness was her difficulty about Darnley, how to free herself from whom she saw "na outgait"; and Maitland, on October 24th, wrote to Beaton that it was "ane heartbreak for her to think that he should be her husband."[3]

After her recovery, attended by her brother, Bothwell and other lords, with a cavalcade of 1,000 horse, she made a progress eastwards by Kelso as far as Berwick-on-Tweed, where she had an interview with the deputy-governor, Sir John Forster, after which she proceeded northwards

[1] Keith, iii. 286. [2] p. 101. [3] Laing's *History*, ii. 72.

by Coldingham and Dunbar to Craigmillar, arriving there on November 20th. According to the document on which the *Detection* is founded, Mary, on reading certain letters from Darnley, which she received at Kelso, "spak in plane wordis to my Lord, now regent, ye erll of huntlie, and ye secretar, and sair gretand and tormentand hirself miserabillie, as gif sche would haiff fallin in ye same sickness yt sche was in of befoir, said yt wytout sche were quyt of ye King be ane meane or tother sche culd never haif ane guid day in hir lyif and rather or sche faillit yairin wald not set by to be ye instrument of hir awne death."[1]

As the consequence of the Queen's troubled and despondent condition, the question of her deliverance from Darnley came up for discussion before the Council at Craigmillar. As to the desirability of getting rid of Darnley, by some means or other, there was amongst the lords in attendance on the Queen but one opinion. Every one of them had a special reason of his own for detestation of him: though, by reason of his foolish incapacity he was so defenceless as to present the aspect of an almost passive victim of intrigues for which he had given no cause, the most feasible plan of obtaining riddance from him was by means of a divorce: and had this been accomplished, Mary's case would have assumed, perhaps, very much the commonplace aspect of a modern matrimonial scandal; though, with Bothwell as Darnley's successor, her future was certain not to be lacking in sensations.

At first, also, the Queen seems to have favoured the divorce plan; but doubt as to how it might affect the legitimacy of the Prince made her, it is said, depart from it. We now know that there was a flaw in the Dispensation

[1] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University Library.

which was sufficient reason for pronouncing the marriage null and void; but this complicated still more gravely the legitimacy question, and there was thus also a special difficulty in approaching the Pope for a formal divorce. Then there was, from the Pope's point of view, a strong objection to the annulment of the marriage, in the fact that Darnley specially represented the hopes of the British Catholics; and Darnley, it so happened, had some weeks before taken upon him to write to the Pope, the King of Spain, the King of France and the Cardinal of Lorraine that Mary was "dubious in the faith." It was a characteristically foolish move, but Mary had found it needful to write strongly contradicting his insinuation;[1] and if she were now to apply for a divorce from him, the Pope might well be puzzled as to her real sentiments and intentions.

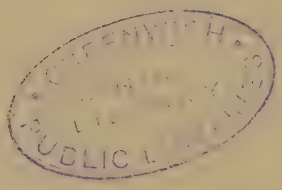
According to the Protestation, prepared by the Queen and sent by her for the signature of Huntly and Argyll,[2] though it never reached them, the question of divorce was first mooted by Moray and Maitland—as it may well have been on the indirect suggestion of the Queen to Maitland—to Argyll, the three afterwards consulting Huntly and then Bothwell before the matter was brought before the Queen. The Queen's aim in asking Huntly and Argyll to sign the document was of course to represent that she and Bothwell were the very last persons to think of the divorce—that it was in a manner pressed on her by Moray and Maitland; but while the literal facts may have been as she represented them to be, the letter and the spirit were here greatly at variance.

Moray and Maitland doubtless wished Darnley out of the way; but their anxieties about this were mild compared

[1] *Spanish Papers*, ii. 1558-69, p. 597. [2] Goodall's *Examination*, ii. 316-321.

After a drawing by Thos. H. Shepherd.

CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE.



with those of the Queen. When, as she states in the document, she finally declared divorce to be impossible, Maitland assured her that a way of getting rid of him would be found, and that Moray would "look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings saying nothing to the same." She thereupon stipulated that nothing should be done whereby any spot might be laid to her honour and conscience, and Maitland replied that if she would allow them to guide the mattter amongst themselves, she would "see nothing but good and approved by Parliament."

Mary's aim in preparing this document was to show that the question of ridding her of Darnley had been taken out of her hands, that she was thus in no way responsible for what had happened to him, but that on the contrary the devisers of the plot against him were in all likelihood Moray and Maitland. It may be also that her account of the conspiracy was substantially correct; but it by no means follows that at this time, or immediately afterwards, the assassination of Darnley was determined on.

According to the story of Lennox, first made known by Mr. Lang,[1] it would appear that after certain of the lords had consulted together—neither the Queen nor of course the royal Moray being present—it was proposed to apprehend Darnley and put him in ward with the view of trying him for high treason: a further version was that if he resisted he was to be killed. We also know that Hiegate, whose name occurs in Letter II., was accused of spreading such a rumour; and that something of the kind was intended is evident from a statement of Mary's representatives: if a divorce could not be compassed,

[1] See especially his *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, revised ed. (1904), pp. 85-9.

Maitland and others proposed to "get him convict of tressoun, because he consentit to hir Grace's retention in ward."[1] This enterprise was, however, so Lennox represents, postponed on account of the earlier arrival than was expected of the foreign representatives who were to be present at the baptism. The apprehension of the father would certainly have formed a rather painful preliminary to the baptism of his child; but the scheme was dropped simply because the longer it was considered it appeared only the more impracticable. Nothing of a positive character was therefore meanwhile devised against Darnley: he was simply left severely alone. He appeared at Craigmillar after the conference, but in no way bettered his position thereby. "Thinkand," says the document already quoted, "hir passioun and colier sumquhat mitigat he profeited nathing, nowther getting guid countenance, guid treatment, nor permission to pass w^t^ hir to bed, howbeit in all yis tyme it was suspectit," etc.[2] Du Croc, in mentioning his visit, expressed the conviction "on several accounts" that no good understanding was now possible between them; and he named two, what he deemed sufficient, reasons for his opinion: (1) the King would not sufficiently humble himself, and (2) the Queen cannot perceive any nobleman speaking with the King, but presently she suspects some contrivance among them:[3] in fact she had made up her mind that reconciliation with him was now out of the question.

The baptism, which took place at Stirling on December 17th, was celebrated in most imposing fashion after the

[1] Goodall's *Examination*, ii. 359.
[2] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University Library.
[3] Keith, vol. i., pp. xcvi-vii.

Catholic ceremonial, the scandalous Archbishop Hamilton, bastard brother of Châtelherault—whom it was now the Queen's policy to flatter—heading the procession of robed Catholic prelates, and performing the sacred rite. The Queen, accustomed from her youth to the splendid pageantry of the French court, arranged that the fêtes and entertainments should be on a scale worthy of such a happy and memorable occasion; but her own enjoyment of the festivities, in which she would otherwise have delighted, was sadly marred by the Darnley perplexity and her anxieties about her immediate future.

The absence of the Protestant lords from the ceremony Mary had counted on. With an almost amazing tolerance they were meanwhile content to let her have her own way, though they could not countenance what they deemed a sinful rite by their actual presence at it; but perhaps the merely religious aspect of her difficulties was never a matter of less moment to her than now, when she gave herself the satisfaction of scandalising the Protestants by the last public Catholic observance that was to take place in Scotland for many years. "The Queen," wrote du Croc on December 23rd, "behaved herself admirably well all the time of the Baptism; and shewed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But I am of the mind, however, that she will give us some trouble as yet; nor can I be brought to think otherwise so long as she continues to be so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday and I found her laid on the bed weeping sore."[1]

The source of the Queen's trouble was of course the

[1] Keith, i. p. xcviii.

Darnley–Bothwell complication. How to get rid of Darnley was now her main concern. Though in Stirling at the time of the Baptism, Darnley, either to let the world know how deeply he was offended at the Queen's treatment of him, or because to face the cold looks with which he was certain to be greeted was more than his pride or his courage could stand, decided, much, we must suppose, to the relief of the Queen and nearly every one else, to keep his room; and by the 24th he found his further stay in Stirling so unbearable, that he determined to join his father in Glasgow. In his anger at his sense of utter defeat, he now began to talk, in his gasconading fashion, of his determination, with the assistance of some of the nobility, to seize his son and undertake the government of Scotland in his name; but the idea of this silly and sulky boy seeking to rule Scotland in opposition to the Queen, was a subject for mere mirth, and he had not even the faintest chance of being permitted the experiment. His boasts and his futile dabblings in conspiracy were simply hastening his doom. Through his propensity to "talk unadvisedly with his lips" he had involved himself in much varied trouble, and he had still a greater penalty to pay for it. He was succeeding to a marvel in illustrating how impossible he had become, and in steeling against him, if it needed steeling, the heart of the Queen, who just before setting out on her memorable mission to him at Glasgow wrote on January 20th to Beaton, with a fatal confidence, for which she also was to pay dear, that she believed they "sall find nane, or very few approvers of thair counsalis and devysis imaginit to our displesor or mislyking."[1]

[1] Keith, ii. p. ci.

Before the Queen had come to entertain this confident opinion, which helped to commit her to the notable enterprise in which she presently embarked, the movement against Darnley had been advanced several stages further. The first of these important stages was followed by the recall of Morton, the young Lord Ruthven, Lord Lindsay, and other fugitive Riccio assassins from England. Bedford intimated to Cecil, seemingly on Moray's information, that Bothwell, "like a very friend," joined with Moray in order to obtain from the Queen redress for Morton;[1] but Bedford had not the faintest idea what this strange friendship meant, or what its bearing might be on the fate of Darnley: Moray was not the person to enlighten him on such a point, and the riddle was quite beyond his guessing. Permission for the recall was granted on December 24th, the very day that Darnley left Stirling for Glasgow. For some months negotiations were in progress through the agency of that clever, but impudently unscrupulous, intriguer, Archibald Douglas, who had obtained leave to come to Scotland that he might conclude terms for the conspirators' return. In order to secure this, they, as Archibald puts it in a letter to the Queen, "thought it convenient to join themselves in a league and band with some other noblemen, resolved to obey your Majesty as their natural sovereign, and have nothing to do with your husband's command whatsoever."[2]

At first, pardon was granted the conspirators on condition that they should still remain abroad for two years. This was the first concession made by the Queen, in order to secure the co-operation of Moray and others in obtaining

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 310.

[2] Letter in Robertson's *History of Scotland*, ed. 1769, vol. ii., pp. 432-6.

riddance from Darnley; and the reason of the new concession of a full pardon was that it had been found necessary to drop both the divorce and the apprehension schemes, and substitute for them that of assassination. Though no mention of this was made to Morton while he was in England, we must believe that Bothwell's reason for acting "like a very friend" in the recall of Morton was that he had conceived the brilliant idea of inducing Morton, who had undertaken the assassination of Riccio, to undertake the assassination of his own kinsman Darnley, to whose treachery his exile was due.

On the other hand, the main purpose of Moray and his friends in securing Morton's recall was to strengthen their party, if not directly against the Queen, then against Bothwell, Huntly and others, whom they knew to be their inveterate enemies. With Morton and his co-exiles again in Scotland, the party of Moray and the Protestants would be as strong as it was before it was shattered by Moray's rebellion. Something startling—and even, it might be, appalling—was, they must have known, bound to happen within a few weeks: their policy was, apparently, in no way to prevent its occurrence, but, indirectly at least, to cause it to happen in such a way that they, and not their opponents, might reap the advantage of it.

The main thing they were manœuvring to effect was that the responsibility for the assassination of the "young fool and proud tirrane" should be thrown not on them but on Bothwell; and they succeeded in doing this (1) because of the urgency of Bothwell's and the Queen's reasons for getting rid of Darnley, and (2) because Morton was the strong man he was. Morton being both shrewd and resolute, Bothwell—who was ever more venturous than

From the picture in the collection of the Earl of Morton.

JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON,
Regent of Scotland.

shrewd—in effecting his recall, had made a fatal false step; for the party of Moray was thus reinforced up to its normal strength, without Bothwell attaining the special purpose he had in view in bringing Morton to Scotland.

When, some time after January 10th, Bothwell and Maitland visited Morton at his brother's seat at Whittinghame, and Bothwell pressed him to undertake the murder, Morton very pertinently asked for the Queen's warrant for what was proposed to him. As they were leaving, Archibald Douglas—the negotiator for Morton's recall, and thus fully acquainted with its conditions—was, he said, instructed by Morton "to accompany the earl Bodwell and secretary to Edinburgh, and to return with such answer as they should obtain of your Majesty, which being given to me by the said persons [Bothwell and Lethington], as God shall be my judge, was no other than these words, 'schaw to the earl Morton that the Queen will hear no speech of that matter appointed unto him'; when I crafit that the answer might be made more sensible, secretary Ledington said, that the earl would sufficiently understand it." As the answer was unsatisfactory, Morton was absolved of further obligation; no more pressure could be put on him; but he states that had the Queen intimated to him plainly that he must undertake to rid her of Darnley, he intended to have again "turned his back on Scotland"—that is, he would have rejected the Queen's terms of free pardon, and have submitted to the qualified terms of two years' exile.

Morton having failed him, Bothwell had himself to take the enterprise in hand. It is not certain whether or not he intended directly to co-operate with Morton against Darnley; but Morton's confession would seem to imply that it was at least hoped that Morton would undertake the

direction of the plot. Bothwell may have obtained certain signatures for a new band before he had his interview with Morton, and may have used them to induce Morton to join the conspiracy. That there was such a band is probable, though the testimony of Bothwell's minions on such a point can hardly be deemed conclusive. That he boasted to them about his confederates is quite likely, and that he included Morton among them is exactly what we might have expected him to do; but if he did show them a band, we must suppose that he permitted them but a cursory inspection of it; and, besides, it was their interest to represent that they had a very powerful warrant for what they did.

Nor is the story of Nau,[1] about a band with the signatures of Morton, Lethington and Balfour, which Bothwell handed to Mary at Carberry and bade her to take care of, sufficiently enlightening; for nothing is definitely stated as to its purport. The fact that if it involved the others it must also have involved Bothwell, would be sufficient reason for not showing it: in any case we may be sure Morton did not, after his arrival in Scotland, sign any band to Bothwell. But whether any special, specific band was signed by any one or not, the general trend of evidence is at least towards the conclusion that Huntly, Argyll, Maitland and Balfour were very intimately acquainted with Bothwell's purpose, though it was evidently he himself that undertook the arrangements, and decided in what manner the deed was to be accomplished.

But, for us here, the main point for consideration is the nature of the Queen's connection with it. Apart from the direct evidence of the long Glasgow letter—which is now generally regarded as at least partly genuine—there

[1] *History of Mary*, p. 48.

may be said to be now a general consensus of opinion that Mary brought Darnley to Edinburgh to facilitate the plans of Bothwell against him. That this conclusion has practically received the imprimatur of Mr. Lang is at least presumptive proof of the difficulty of arriving at any other verdict; for not only has Mr. Lang studied every phase of the evidence with minute care, but he has always devoted a special attention to those aspects of the case that might prove Mary's innocence or mitigate her guilt.[1]

The circumstantial evidence against Mary's innocence is indeed overwhelmingly strong. If we bear in mind that Mary and Darnley had been on the worst of terms from the beginning of April, that from the time of her recovery after the birth of her son she had declined Darnley's embraces, and that from early in October the problem of how to sever the bond that linked them together was causing her such deep anxiety as seriously to affect her health, that the matter had been discussed in November in her presence by a select company of the nobles, and that from that time until she set out for Glasgow the breach between them had continued to widen—if all this continued course of hopeless quarrel be considered, it is impossible to conclude that she brought Darnley to Edinburgh with any other view than to facilitate evil designs against him:

[1] Mr. Lang, it must be said, makes a kind of attempt to modify or veil his verdict, but its essential character is in no way affected by such statements as that, in view of the unjust methods of Mary's [contemporary] accusers, "it is natural, even if illogical, to doubt the guilt of the accused" (*Mystery of Mary Stuart*, p. vi.), or that, "as their case stands, as it is presented by them, a jury, however convinced, on other grounds, of Mary's guilt, would feel constrained to acquit the Queen of Scots" (*Ibid.*, 142); for of course, as no doubt Mr. Lang recognises, we are not in the position of a jury of those times, and have to judge the case by the evidence now available.

and we have, besides, against her innocence various other damaging circumstances, including the subsequent marriage to Bothwell.

As Mr. Lang puts it, even if we decide to reject the direct evidence—that of the Casket Letters, of the dying depositions, and of the statements of Crawford—"Mary's conduct after Darnley's death remains"—on the supposition of her innocence—"an insoluble enigma."[1] Although, however, the Casket Letters are now in a manner superfluous as evidence, the notable Letter II.—the authenticity of which I hope, in the Appendix, to prove to be a moral certainty—is of priceless value as a revelation of Mary's motives, and of her mental and moral bewilderment while in the process of succumbing to the great temptation.

On January 20th, the very day on which she wrote to Beaton her truculent letter against Darnley and his father, she thought it meet to set out to pay ostensibly a visit of condolence to him at Glasgow, where he was beginning to convalesce from an attack of poisoning, small-pox, or syphilis. Supposing it were poison, then Mary's visit to him must be attributed to the fact that the poison had failed sufficiently to do its work. The likelihood on the whole is, however, that it was small-pox, against which Mary, on account of previous attacks, would suppose herself to be proof. Anyhow she resolved to take the risk, if risk there was; and so interested did she become, either in his welfare or the reverse, that she stayed with him until he was sufficiently recovered to be brought with her in a litter to Edinburgh. Happily he was too weak to indulge in his amorous propensities to the full, and she made up her mind to go through the task of encouraging them so long as

[1] *History of Scotland*, ii. 174.

they remained futile. Bothwell accompanied her as far as Callendar—the seat of Lord Livingstone—and then returned to Edinburgh, Mary reaching Glasgow on the 21st or 22nd. After an interview with Darnley she probably began her long letter to Bothwell, and she finished it late on the following evening, sending it next day by Bothwell's servant, French Paris, to Bothwell, who was to be in Edinburgh to make preparations for the reception of her interesting patient.

On the supposition of the letter's anthenticity, its evidential value is of course quite unique; and in view of this, there seems almost a touch of morbidity in the anxiety of some to get rid of its evidence, even when they feel constrained to admit that if partly, it is not wholly, a forgery.

Moreover, the anxiety is quite uncalled for in the interests of Mary. Her interests are best served by the full revelation of all the facts and circumstances that more immediately concern her. A better case can be made out for her by thoroughly sifting them, by omitting nothing of their peculiarities, however dreadful and unpleasant they may appear to be, than by the exercise of the utmost ingenuity in concentrating attention on the misdeeds of her opponents. Mary was not a weak and helpless simpleton —the mere passive victim of unprincipled conspirators. Her worst enemy turned out ultimately to be herself, though it was external circumstances rather than herself that made her so. Given certain circumstances, her life might have been both brilliant and conventionally edifying to the last; but by virtue of her circumstances she was ruined by the very force of her individuality. She was strong and resolute, and she became determined at all costs

to have her own way; her own way in the first place as to ambition, and when that failed her, as to passion. The extenuating circumstances are less to be found in direct conspiracies against her than in the manner in which she was enticed to her doom by a resistless series of events, that seemed to shape her career as by the hand of an inexorable fate.

In the case of Mary's relations with Darnley, fate seemed to be present in more overpowering force than ever. Darnley had betrayed her in a manner that was beyond the possibility of forgiveness: not only so, but he had virtually been condemned to death by the general sentiment of the Scottish nobles, the majority of whom he had betrayed as deeply as he had betrayed his wife; his continuance to be her consort had become an impossibility, even before she gave way to her fatal passion for Bothwell; and that passion was so reinforced by other considerations as to exercise an almost overwhelming influence in urging her to lend assistance towards the commission of the crime.

In the letter we see Mary under the dominance of a passion so absorbing, or driven so urgently by the necessities it had created, that other considerations dwindle and fade into mere shadows. The possibility of discovery gives her no thought—she has now quite passed that stage and is in the full grasp of her infatuation. The only matter of supreme concern to her is that Bothwell will, whatever may happen, remain true to her; that, as the reward of the irksome and loathsome task she was setting herself, she will be joined in marriage with him, to please whom she is prepared to "spare neither honour, conscience, hazard nor greatness."

As for the poor victim, whom a cruel mischance had placed between them and their happiness, Mary could almost have pity on him, if she had not had proof of "his heart of wax," and if her own heart had not been "a diamond" which was incapable of being pierced. Her constancy to Bothwell could be destroyed by death alone; and if his constancy were like hers, she had nothing either to fear or regret. But again a feeling of horror—though in no respect of fear—comes over her when, in, so to speak, a lull in the intensity of her passion, she obtains a glimpse of the real character of her undertaking:

"Ye cause me," says Mary, "to do almost the office of a traitress. Remember that if it were not to obey you I had rather be dead or I did it; my heart bleeds at it" [the forger, if forger he was, could not have placed Mary's case in a more favourable light]. Again, "Alas, I never deceived anybody. But I put me altogether to your will. Send the word what I shall do, and whatever comes thereof I shall obey you." And yet again, "I will never rejoice to deceive anybody that trusts in me; yet notwithstanding ye may command me in all things. Have no evil opinion of me for that cause, by reason ye are the occasion of it yourself; because for my own particular revenge I would not do it to him." Only one request she had to make of him—not to prefer to her his wife, whose tears at being separated from him were not worth comparison, as a proof of affection, with what she was now undertaking in order to merit her place.

As for Bothwell, it was he who had prescribed for her her irksome task; he had decided that if Darnley was to be got rid of, she must aid him in the project; and he was completely master of her. She had no option,

and she had also no wish, but to do his will; and indeed the affair was perhaps more hers than his. He was in a dilemma, but hardly in so bad a one as she was. In no way was he so exclusively enamoured of her as she was of him; there is, on the contrary, apparent evidence that he was more in love with the wife whom he wished to divorce him, than with her whom he desired to be her successor. Nor is it certain that he was desperately set on becoming a royal consort. He was a man ready for any mad adventure, but he lacked the cold, selfish ambition of the political schemer. It was his reckless, uncalculating daring that was perhaps one of his chief charms in the eyes of the Queen; and, having got himself entangled with her, he resolved, partly from a sense of loyalty to his sovereign, partly from a very rude and mixed conception of chivalry, to do his utmost to deliver her from her terrible predicament.

Morton not being bribable, even by a free pardon, to undertake the murder, there was nothing for it but that Bothwell should take it in hand himself, in co-operation with the Queen; and that being so, the problem they had to solve was how to compass it, so as best to ward off suspicion from themselves. They could not of course deceive Morton, nor Moray nor any one present at the Craigmillar conference, and, therefore, they wished them to share, and even more, any suspicion that was going.

From the time that Mary went to visit her husband at Glasgow, Morton and Moray—desirous though they were to avoid all knowledge of what they were aware was bound, sooner or later, to happen—must have been in expectation of the terrible *dénoûment*; and their expectancy must have been greatly quickened, when they

learned that on the 30th the Queen had brought her unhappy victim to the fatal house at Kirk-o'-Field, standing, to quote the document already referred to, "in a solitar place[1] at the outmost part of ye towne, separat from all companie—ane vaist rewynous hous, quhair no man had duelt sevin zearis of befoir, and finalie in all conditions onproper to haif placit ony honest man vnto."[2]

Had Moray been absorbingly anxious to save Darnley's life it doubtless could have been done; but he might well have asked himself *Cui bono?* Considering Darnley's betrayal of him and his proposal to compass his death, Moray was really absolved of all obligations to interfere. In fact, Darnley had forfeited his life over and over again; and nothing better could be hoped from him in the future than in the past. Moray therefore, prudently if ingloriously, left him to his fate; and when it became evident that the end of the pitiable victim's days was at hand, he went to St. Andrews, as if really convinced that the Darnley difficulty had been got over through Darnley's reconciliation with the Queen.

It is beyond the scope of my purpose to enter into minute details, as to the manner in which the murder was effected; the evidence has been sifted with great care by Mr. Lang in his *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, and if on some points Mr. Lang's conclusions may not commend themselves to every one, this was almost inevitable from the peculiar nature of the case. Here I am concerned only with that aspect of the case which bears immediately on the conduct of Mary; and what I have more particularly to point out is, that the murder seems to have been carefully planned

[1] The site is now occupied by the Museum buildings behind the University.
[2] MS. Dd. 3 (66) in Cambridge University.

so as to indicate, if possible, that it could not have been the work of her and Bothwell. The impression meant to be conveyed was that the murder of the Queen, as well as that of her husband, was intended—that the Queen's escape was a mere accident, caused by her absence that night at the marriage of Bastian. But for the desire to convey this impression, it would have been enough to have killed Darnley in the Queen's absence—without the sensational accompaniment of an explosion. The explosion was a mere ruse : its aim was not to destroy Darnley, but to conceal the method of the murder. As a method of assassination it lacked sufficient certainty : the victim might not even be mortally injured by it ; and, besides, the mere noise was an objection unless there was a corresponding advantage. To make sure of the victim's death it would be necessary to effect it before blowing up the house ; and in order to convey the impression that he was killed by the explosion, no weapon was used against him : he was strangled or suffocated.[1] But, for some reason, the work was bungled. We must suppose it was intended to leave the bodies of Darnley and his servant, Taylor, in the house for the explosion to work its will on them ; but they appear to have been caught in the grounds in the act of escaping. Mr. Lang is inclined to think that the actual assassination was the work of Huntly and the Douglases ; but although the fact of the suppression of evidence against others than

[1] Bothwell, to Melville, represented the death as caused by lightning—"the pouder came out of the luft" (Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* p. 174). No importance can be attached to a statement of a valet of the Queen, that one rib in the King's body was found broken, and all the inward parts crushed and bruised (*Papal Negotiations*, p. 361). His body was examined by surgeons, but their report has not been preserved: it must be remembered that neither party at first desired any minute inquiry into the murder.

Bothwell has to be remembered, as well as the general unreliability of the subordinate agents' statements, the chances are that Bothwell would see to the assassination himself. Whatever, also, may have been the case with Huntly,[1] we cannot suppose that the Douglases had much to do with the assassination. Evidently Morton was sufficiently prudent to hold entirely aloof from it; and Maitland, though he had no option except to be a party to it, would hardly devise a plan—or contribute to its success—that was meant to avert suspicion from Bothwell and cast it on the Protestants. Moreover, Bothwell being the man he was, and the success of his plan being of such vital concern to him and the Queen, the likelihood is that he himself made "siccar" as to Darnley. So far also as there is any evidence on the point, this is the hypothesis that it favours. His servant Powrie states that Bothwell passed in over the dyke and remained half an hour, returning shortly before the explosion accompanied by Hay of Talla and Hepburn of Bowton, and in this he is corroborated by Dalgleish; and Hay of Talla states also that Bothwell was in the yard.[2] Thus unless Darnley was strangled some time before the explosion, Bothwell must have had a hand in it; and whatever any one may be disposed to conjecture, there is no sufficient evidence that either the Douglases or Gordons were assisters at the deed, supposing, that is, any

[1] Huntly was staying in the palace, and therefore could hardly have been there. We cannot suppose that he was in Bothwell's company, going or returning.

[2] Anderson, ii. 169-170, 175, 182. According to the story of Morette, certain women from a high window saw Darnley, shortly before the explosion, escaping from a window looking on the garden, shortly after which he was surrounded and strangled by the sleeves of his shirt (*Venetian State Papers*, 1558-80, No. 384); but no importance can be attached to mere floating gossip.

strangling took place. If Darnley was strangled, Bothwell's assisters must have been Hay and Hepburn ; but naturally they would avoid owning any such soft impeachment. As for the theory that the strangling occurred after the explosion, it is hardly worth consideration, for even if Darnley had got out of the house immediately before the explosion, the first concern of the assassins, as soon as the explosion took place, was to vanish from the scene as quickly as they could.

CHAPTER X

MARY AND BOTHWELL

IT was about two o'clock on Monday morning, February 10th, 1567, that the noise of the explosion at Kirk-o'-Field shook the city, and aroused from their sleep many of the citizens at least in the immediate neighbourhood. Clearly those concerned in it would have no time to examine curiously the result of their achievement. If there were others than the Bothwell party present at the deed, we are not told their part in it; but Bothwell's followers were sufficient for all that had to be done, though it is to be borne in mind that the aim of the subsequent inquiry was simply to implicate Bothwell. Of his procedure we have thus very detailed information; but since it was obtained from witnesses separately examined, and generally corroborative of each other, its general accuracy can hardly be questioned.[1]

A fatal drawback in the case of him and his party was that they were lodging outside the city walls. Thus Bothwell, after, with other nobles, forming the convoy of the Queen to Holyrood from Kirk-o'-Field, the start being made at eleven o'clock, had afterwards to pass the sentinels at Holyrood, and the porter at the Netherbow, both going to and coming from the murder; and all that he

[1] See Anderson, ii. 165–88.

could do to avoid observation was to disguise himself as one of his own servants. After changing his hose and doublet and casting about him his horseman's cloak "of sad Inglish claith called the new colour," he set out, shortly after twelve, accompanied by French Paris, Powrie, Wilson and Dalgleish, passing through the Queen's garden and out at the South Gate. He thus avoided the chance of identification by the palace servants at the main exit; and by the sentinels of the South Gate they were allowed to pass, on replying, to their challenge, that they were "friends of Lord Bothwell." The Netherbow port they found closed, but it was opened to them, on their giving the same account of themselves, though the porter gaily rallied them on being out of their beds at that time of night.

So far all was, in a manner, well; but there was the problem of their return—a return which was a mere flight, for the streets would soon be full of alarmed citizens. Bothwell, therefore, led the way to the low part of the wall at Leith wynd, which he hoped to be able to scale; but in this he was disappointed, the feat being found impossible without the help of some contrivance, and as time pressed, they had nothing for it but to hurry back to the Netherbow port. Whether the porter had been asleep, or whether, as is most likely, he had heard the explosion, he opened his gate to them without demur, indulging this time in no remarks, facetious or otherwise. Probably he guessed that something desperate had been done, and was glad, for his own sake, to have Bothwell's friends outside the city walls. The sentinels at the South Gate had still to be passed. Having been startled, as all then awake near Edinburgh must have been, by the explosion, they asked

"what crak that was"; but Bothwell's friends were apparently quite incurious about it, and carelessly answered that they knew not. Thus various persons—who could hardly be kept from gossiping—knew that "friends," real or pretended, "of Bothwell" had been in the city at the time of the explosion; and when, shortly afterwards, the startling news reached them of the King's murder, they could put two and two together.

Bothwell, on returning to Holyrood, knew, of course, that his morning's work was not yet quite over: he had still, as the phrase goes, to face the music; and no man, so far as concerned sheer nerve and audacity, was better able to do so. Calling, therefore, for a drink, he went to bed, rather, we must believe, to await developments than to seek repose. In about half an hour the expected happened: George Hacket, a servant of the palace, entered his room in a condition of almost speechless agitation, caused, it may be, less by the news he had to give, than as to how it would be received by the truculent desperado on the bed, whom he may well have guessed to know more of the matter than he did. But when Bothwell, contemptuous of his agitation, asked, "What is the matter, man?" he found his tongue, and answered that he had heard at Kirk-o'-Field "like the schot of a cannon," and that the King's house was blown up, and the King, it was supposed, killed. Exclaiming "Fy! treason!" the surprised and indignant Bothwell immediately rose and put on his clothes. Before he left the room he was joined by Huntly, and the two went on their errand of breaking the supposed harrowing intelligence to the Queen; after which Bothwell having assembled a company of soldiers, repaired to Kirk-o'-Field to view his own handiwork. A crowd of excited

and awestruck citizens swarmed round the enclosure, and thronged the orchard, where the dead bodies of the King and his servant lay. After dispersing them in the high-handed manner of those times, Bothwell gave orders that the bodies should be brought into a neighbouring house; and thus his task, so far as concerned the getting rid of Darnley, was ended.

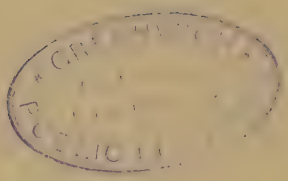
The Queen, whom he visited to make his report to her about the strange occurrence, Bothwell, according to his judicious statement to Sir James Melville, found "sorrowful and quiet."[1] As widow of the murdered man, she had, after the body was brought to Holyrood, to undergo also the ordeal of an interview with it, which according to the continuator of Knox, she did "without any outward show or signe of joy or sorrow."[2] The same writer also states that although, according to ancient custom, she should have remained within doors for forty days, with the doors and windows closed in token of mourning, the windows were opened, to let in light, the fourth day.

Bishop Leslie, in his *Defence of Queen Mary*, affirms that she did not observe the usual period of seclusion, for the reason that Darnley was King only by courtesy; but, in any case, we must suppose that she hated to go through the formality of pretending deep regret, and would have preferred, had that been possible without involving herself in ruin, to have declared openly and unflinchingly that Darnley had simply got his deserts. How little account she made of the death, was manifested by the celebration on the Tuesday, as previously fixed, of the marriage of her favourite bed-chamber woman, Margaret Carwood, to John Stewart. On the same, or the previous, day, she

[1] Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 174. [2] Knox, *Works*, ii. 550.

After a picture at Windsor Castle.

CENOTAPH OF DARNLEY.



wrote to Beaton, her ambassador at Paris, from whom she had received a letter that morning. He had given her warnings against having anything to do with plots against her husband, and to this she replied that she found his "advertisement" to be "in effect over true, albeit the succes has not altogether been sic as the authoris of that mischievous fact had preconcevit in thair mind, and had put it in executioun, gif God in his mercy had not preservit us." As for the murder, she hoped "to punish the same with sic rigor as sall serve for example of this crueltie to all ages to cum": all the more that she assured herself "it was dressit alsweill for us as for the King."[1] But the distinctive feature of the letter is its adamantine hardness and coldness: though professing to be bent on revenge, she does not condescend to any pretence of sorrow, or pity, or regret; the preponderating quality in her mood is, apparently, that of thankfulness that she herself has escaped the doom intended for her.

Beaton, who, as a Catholic, must have been deeply concerned at the murder, must have read the letter with a strange feeling of misgiving; but it was sufficiently definite —as doubtless Mary intended it to be—as to the official attitude he was to assume towards the occurrence. In a letter of February 18th she was hardly more mindful as to the expressions of regret: though she stated that when she wrote her previous letter she was "sa grevit and tormentit," that she could not then answer the "particular heids" of his letter.[2]

The attitude of most of the nobles—both those of the Queen's party as well as Moray, Morton and their friends —to the murder, was, to all appearance, that mainly of

[1] Labanoff, ii. 3-4. [2] *Ibid.*, 7.

cynical indifference. None of them regarded Darnley's removal as a national calamity, but rather the reverse. It was less than sixteen months previous to it, that a hundred of Moray's followers had sworn to set on him in battle, and either to effect his death or die themselves.[1] It so happened that they did not get their chance in this fashion; but since that time their bloodthirstiness had been even more sharply whetted than before. In fact Moray and his friends had, only lately, been so diddled and betrayed by the sheer foolishness of Darnley, that the account they had to settle with him could not be paid by less than his life. They would have been only too pleased to have brought about his death by means of the usual legal formalities, had it not been found too inconvenient to do so; and the contriver of the wildly sensational method, by which their political marplot had been got rid of, really deserved their silent gratitude.

Should the unknown public benefactor, about whose identity they appeared to have been none too curious, be content with his distinguished achievement, and not proceed to further enterprises that, besides compromising the Queen, which they doubtless deemed a minor matter, might injuriously affect their own interests and the godly interests of Protestantism, they were prepared, we must believe, to let him alone. Their main anxiety was that they might "enter into his labours"—that is, return to power. Should Bothwell stand in the way of this, or should the Queen stand in its way, he and she, like Darnley, were bound to go; but even should it prove that, in the case of Darnley and the Queen, the murder was the mere preliminary to still more desperate developments, they re-

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 202.

solved to allow them as much rope as they needed, and this for the simple reason, that meanwhile they could not safely do anything else. Even Moray himself—who, for a time, was too deeply concerned about his wife's convenient illness to leave St. Andrews, though invited by his affectionate sister to join her select circle at Seton—showed no absorbing anxiety to get at the truth of the astounding tragedy; and notwithstanding the dubious and flighty way in which the Queen was conducting herself, he made his appearance at the court about the end of February.[1] The rumours that had arisen as to Bothwell's, and even the Queen's, connection with the deed, appeared to disturb him but little, and while on March 13th denouncing it in an edifying way to Cecil, as this "latte accident so odious and so detestable," he oracularly added, "yit am I persuadit discrete personaige will nocht rashely judge in so horrible crymis, but of honest personaiges mean honestly, quhill" [until] "treuht declair and convince the contrair."[2]

There was, in fact, a general desire among all the entourage of the Queen to think and do as little about the unpleasant and dangerous matter as they could. Whether, as the continuator of Knox states, the lords proposed that the poor victim should be honoured by a display of all the elaborate pageantry of grief that glorifies a royal funeral, we cannot tell. It may have been deemed inadvisable to afford an opportunity for the strong manifestation of public feeling against the crime; and, certainly, many of the nobles, besides Bothwell, would have borne the trappings of woe with much inward awkwardness and discomfort; but really it was most fitting—if conventionally wrong—that pretence should not be carried further than was neces-

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 316. [2] *Ibid.*, 318.

sary ; and the Queen manifested, amidst all her vagaries, a certain resolute good sense—if not good feeling—in deciding that the funeral should be a private one. According to the *Diurnal*,[1] Darnley was on February 14th "iburied besyid King James the fift in his sepulture, quietlie" ; and all that is further known about the body is that it underwent the process of embalming. The wildly vituperative Buchanan affirms that he was laid beside Riccio ; but he is here forgetful of his own theory that Mary would have deemed this too great an honour for him. As matter of fact, however, Riccio's body was merely placed for a time in the royal tomb, until, after being dug up from its first grave, another resting-place was prepared for it. In her instructions to Lord Grey, Elizabeth affirmed that the "contempt or neglect" in the burial had "increased great indignation" ; his "father's kin and friends" being forced to absent themselves ;[2] but Elizabeth's interest in the fortunes of the body, after the breath was out of it, was apparently more sympathetic and genial than when, in its animated form, it was the husband of the Queen of Scots.

On February 16th, the Queen sought escape from the now doubly depressing associations of Holyrood by a visit to Seton. In the peculiar circumstances the strict observance of the oppressive formalities of the forty days of royal mourning would have been, we must believe, a penance quite beyond her endurance, if she were to retain her sanity. In the strange condition of mind in which she must have been—shame (if not remorse), depression, defiance, passion and wild resolve all having a kind of conflicting possession of her—she never more needed

[1] P. 106. [2] *Scottish Papers*, ii., 325.

diversion and activity than now. Hardly, therefore, had she gone to Seton than, amongst her more intimate friends, who were all more or less "enterprisers" of the murder, and must have perfectly understood the nature of the Queen's connection with it, she ceased to make any pretence of grief. "Even now," wrote Drury, on February 28th, "is brought me that the Queen came upon Wednesday" [the 24th] "to the Lord Whawton's house, seven miles off this side; dined by the way at a place called Tranent, belonging to the Lord Seton, where he and the Earl of Huntly paid for the dinner, the Queen and the Earl Bodwell having at a match at shooting won the same of them."[1] Nevertheless, when she returned to Holyrood to give audience on March 8th to Killigrew, sent with Elizabeth's condolences, she conducted herself entirely as the occasion demanded. After dining with Moray—who on this occasion must have been exceptionally enigmatical even for him—Killigrew, accompanied by him, as well as by the Lord Chancellor, Argyll, Bothwell and Lethington, proceeded to Holyrood, where he found the Queen in a dark chamber and could not see her face; "but by her wordes she seamed veary dolfull," and she accepted Elizabeth's message in "very thankful manner."[2]

Meanwhile, on February 12th, a reward of £2,000 and a free pardon had been offered, in the name of the Queen, for the discovery of the murderers, and that same night a placard was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, declaring their names to be Bothwell, James Balfour and David Chambers. It was also of course imperative that Darnley's servant, Nelson, who escaped from the explosion,

[1] Tytler, ed. 1862, vol. iii. p. 413. [2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 317.

should be examined, but he could really throw no light on what happened, beyond the information that the keys of the dwelling were in the possession of Mary's servants. Though also two women and a man—Barbara Mertane, May Crokat, and John Petcarne, "chirurgeone," had witnessed a band of men hurrying away from Kirk-o'-Field immediately after the explosion, they could give no information that might assist towards their identification. [1] But the greater the lack of knowledge, the greater were the public interest and curiosity in the strange event, and the more violent was the suspicion against those accustomed to be at Kirk-o'-Field.

As yet there was, so far as we have any record, no general surmise that Bothwell was, as the author of the *Diurnal* puts it, "more familiare with the queen's majestie than honestie requyrit." The Chequer-house incidents, if they were more than a mere fairy tale, were not then known, so it would seem, outside the circle of the Queen's more confidential attendants. Nor had any Jedburgh stories as yet reached the common ear; and if Maitland, Argyll or Moray suspected anything between the Queen and Bothwell, they kept their own counsel. We might have had tales, real or imaginary, had Randolph been in Scotland, but on the other hand we might not. For one thing, Bothwell was but lately married to Lady Jean Gordon, a wife of the Queen's own choosing, and his brother-in-law, Huntly, was apparently quite blind to the folly, if folly there was, between the Queen and Bothwell; for he and Bothwell and the Queen were all thick as thieves. Still Bothwell, by political necessity, if for no other reason, was now the right-hand man of

[1] *Ibid.*, ii. 312-13.

From Mr. J. J. Foster's "The True Portraiture of Mary Queen of Scots," by permission of Messrs. Dickinsons.

JAMES HEPBURN, EARL OF BOTHWELL.

From a miniature in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Boyle.

THE DARNLEY JEWEL.

Now in the Royal Collection. Probably made for Margaret, Countess of Lennox, in memory of her husband the Regent, as a present to her royal grandson James VI, son of Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots.

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the Queen. He had, in this respect at least, superseded Darnley, as Riccio before him had done; he was known to hate Darnley; he had prepared the lodging at Kirk-o'-Field; he was almost the supposed guardian of it; and his very personality—thick-set and brawny, gaily truculent, full of swashbuckler insolence and daring—could hardly but suggest to most, that in him they had the captain of the murderous band, whoever might be his confederates.

Thus once Bothwell's name was mentioned it was certain to "hold the field"—though, as he was the virtual ruler of Scotland at this time, it was exceedingly dangerous for any one to say what nearly every one thought. Knox, had he been in Edinburgh—after the Riccio affair he had ultimately gone to England, and his henchman Moray had not apparently the hardihood to propose his recall—would have been greatly exercised to hold his peace, bound though he was to Bothwell by "the obligations of our Scottish kindness." Killigrew tells us that the preachers were praying "openly to God that yt wyll plese hem both to reveale and reveng";[1] but apparently they named no names. It would no doubt have gratified them much to have been at liberty to name the name of the Queen, and we must suppose they devoutly hoped God would reveal that she was in it; they could not possibly regret Darnley's death a particle more than they regretted Riccio's; as an "idolater" he ought, in fact, to have "died the death" long before. Had the Protestants taken the deed in hand, the preachers would have rejoiced at their success, as much as they appeared to mourn the success of Bothwell; but the Protestants' work had been taken out of their hands, and had been done seemingly on the Queen's account.

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 317.

It was therefore heinous in their sight; or at least they now hoped, that by pretending that it was so, the Queen would be brought to destruction. But meanwhile they could do nothing more than hint and pray. The voices that denounced Bothwell as the murderer were those of unknown persons, traversing the streets in the darkness. A certain person, afterwards discovered to be James Murray of Tullibardine, distributed portraits of Bothwell, with the superscription, "This is the murderer of the King," but on being suspected, he fled the country, though he sent word that he was prepared, with five others, to challenge those whom he believed to be the murderers to a combat on the matter.

Meantime the placarding had been going merrily on, one placard naming as the murderers, Bothwell, Balfour, Chalmers and Black John Spens, and another, Bastian, John of Bourdeaux and Joseph Riccio;[1] but no public accuser appeared, although the smith who had made an additional set of keys was said to be ready to tell his tale, if his life were assured. Since the Queen continued also to show no diminution of her favour for Bothwell, it was inevitable that insinuations should, as well, be made against her; and Drury was informed, on February 27th, of a bill set up the night before, "where were these letters written in Roman hand very great M.R., with a sword in a hand near the same letters; then an L.B. with a mallet near them."[2] But denunciation and insinuation are not proof; and Bothwell was not the man to be cowed by the mere murmurs of the populace. He was, besides, quite as good at denunciation as were his adversaries. He knew that though circumstances of a peculiar nature had determined

[1] Anderson, i. 42-48. [2] Tytler, iii. 413

that he should be the actual agent by whom the deed was done, it had the approval of various persons who were now looking for his fall; and should the worst come to the worst, he was prepared to denounce even Moray. Bold assurance must be his main weapon; and in the use of it he was a master of masters. On Thursday, February 25th, he came to Edinburgh, and, writes Drury, "openly declared, affirming the same by his oath, if he knew who were the setters up of the bills and writings, he would wash his hands in their blood." He now also kept a body of fifty horsemen about him, who followed him "very near," and whose "gesture, as his, is of the people much noted. They seem to go near and about him, as though there were that would harm him; and his hand, as he talks with any that is not assured unto him, upon his dagger, with a strange countenance, as the beholders of him thinks."[1]

In answer to the communications of Lennox, directing her attention to the placards, and desiring her to apprehend the persons mentioned in them, Mary finally replied that the placards were inconsistent, but that if he proposed to accuse any of the persons therein mentioned, cognition would be taken at his instance according to the laws of the realm. Thereupon Lennox made a formal application that the persons named on the placards, and whom he stated he "greatly suspected," should be apprehended; and Mary finally intimated that she had fixed a day for their trial before a convention of her nobility and council.[2] It may be argued, plausibly enough, that Mary, even if entirely innocent of Darnley's death, was in a difficult dilemma, and needed to act cautiously. She was only

[1] Tytler, iii. 413. [2] Keith, ii. 525-9; Labanoff, ii. 10-13, 17-19.

too well aware to how many Darnley had given unpardonable offence; the conspiracy against him might be—and indeed it was—of a very wide and complicated character; by her rash interference she might only stir up a very bad hornets' nest; and, on the whole, her only wise policy might be to remain passive, and let Lennox or the Council do what they thought fit to do. It was all very well for Elizabeth to counsel her to take the matter to heart, that she might show to the world "what a noble princess and loyal woman she was."[1] But was Elizabeth really much concerned that the nobility and loyalty of her rival should be made so very manifest? And even if Elizabeth did not suspect more than she expressed, and was void of any desire to stir up in any way the hornets' nest, she was really not in a position to say what Mary ought, or ought not, to do. Mary's sovereignty, unlike that of Elizabeth, was hardly more than nominal: by one rash step she might again place herself at the mercy of her brother and the Protestant faction.

There were, however, even according to the limited knowledge of the case then current, two weak points in Mary's pretension of innocence. The first was that, previous to her bringing Darnley to Edinburgh and devoting herself with such diligence and zeal to the promotion of his comfort during his sickness, and to the hastening of his convalescence, he had for months been notoriously estranged from her, so estranged that she had been in consultation with certain of her nobles how, by hook or by crook, to get rid of him. Thus Guzman, having on January 18th written to Philip that the displeasure of the Queen of Scotland with her husband is carried so far that she was

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 316.

approached by some who "wanted to induce her to allow a plot to be formed against him," [1] could, when the startling intelligence of the murder reached him, only express his profound dismay at what had happened, though his diplomatic sense of propriety caused him to add that "it would seem impossible that the Queen, who had always given evidence of virtue and piety, should have consented to any such action as this"; and later he reported that Lady Lennox was "not the only person that suspects the Queen to have had some hand in the business." [2] Although also Morette —the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy—who was in Edinburgh at the time, thought fit to inform the Venetian ambassador at Paris that the "bastard brother of the Queen" was the man suspected,[3] he told a more accurate, if less discreet, story to Guzman. To him he gave such a version of the matter as pointed "to suspicion that the Queen knew of, or consented to, the plot," and when Guzman directly questioned him as to the Queen's share in it, "he did not condemn her in words, but did not exonerate her at all."

The second weak point in Mary's armour was the favour she was showing to Bothwell, whom common rumour had fixed on as the murderer, and whom the father of the murdered man proposed formally to accuse of the crime. Guzman, as soon as the news reached him that Darnley was no more, was already speculating as to Mary's next husband. Naturally he supposed that even if she had had a hand in the murder, her share in it would be hushed up. Assassination was then deemed a smaller

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1558-67, p. 612.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 618, 620.
[3] *Venetian State Papers*, 1558-80, No. 384.

crime than the weakness of those who allowed themselves to be convicted of it; and taking for granted that Mary was beyond the reach of conviction, he advised that the question "of whom she is to marry should be kept in view for obvious reasons"—these being that "of course the French will do all they can to get her to marry to their liking."[1] Had Guzman then known that the Queen had already made her choice, that the happy man was to be Bothwell, and that neither Spain, France nor England need trouble themselves to make any suggestions on the matter, his references to Mary's connection with the murder would, we must believe, have been much less unvarnished than they were.

That Bothwell was—if so the fates would permit—to be the happy man, very soon became a matter of general speculation; and gradually the surmise deepened into probability and then into certainty. By March 29th, Drury reported that the general judgment of the people was that the Queen intended to marry Bothwell, and next day he had the news that Huntly had now condescended to the divorce of his sister.[2] The very thought of such an astounding sequel to the murder might well stupefy the best friends of the Queen with wonder, alarm and horror; but she and Bothwell set about the realisation of their wild day-dream, with a methodical thoroughness before which difficulties seemed to vanish as if by magic. The first step was to make Bothwell's position as secure and strong as possible, whatever might be the issue of the coming trial; and indeed its issue depended largely on Bothwell's power to produce the impression that to

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1538–67, p. 618.
[2] *For. Ser.*, viii., Nos. 1053–1054.

meddle with him would be a very dangerous adventure. On March 19th Mar was, therefore, induced to give up his charge of Edinburgh Castle, which was placed in the keeping of Cockburn of Skirling, one of Bothwell's creatures. Shortly afterwards Bothwell also obtained the command of Blackness and the superiority of Leith; and when it became known, some time before April 4th, that Bothwell was assured of the friendship of Morton, to whom the Queen had given Tantallon,[1] the opinion must have been general that Bothwell was bound to win at least his first bout.

For Bothwell to attend the meeting of Council, March 28th, at which arrangements for his own trial were made, gives in our eyes a touch of mere burlesque to the whole proceedings; but he was pretending, be it remembered, to hold his accusers in mere scorn, and however loudly he had been accused, no evidence had as yet been adduced against him. In the confused condition of Scottish politics at this time—the nobles being divided into several separate factions—Bothwell, innocent or guilty, had to look as sharply as possible after his own interests, and do his utmost to hold his own. For a similiar reason, his resolve to assemble his followers in force might be regarded as a kind of precaution to ensure that he should have fair play: innocent or not, he might have argued, "I have enemies prepared, if they have a chance, to do their worst against me." But, of course, he could not permit Lennox to do as he was doing, nor would any other Scottish noble under a similar accusation have allowed Lennox to beard him, could he prevent him doing so. The trial of Scottish nobles was always a kind of farce; if they could bring

[1] *For Ser.*, viii., No. 1059.

with them to the assize a sufficiently powerful following, then the trial was abandoned; if they could not, then they were as a rule found guilty. The difference in the case of Bothwell—apart from the high nature of the crime of which he was accused—was that he by no means wanted the trial to be abandoned: what he desired was to be cleared by an assize, so that he might be free to marry the Queen.

In order to effect this, it was needful that Lennox should be prevented from appearing. Being forbidden to approach Edinburgh with more than six followers, he deemed discretion the better part of valour, and thus the triumph of Bothwell was well-nigh assured. Elizabeth, bent rather on securing the re-establishment in power of the Protestant faction than on saving the reputation of her "good sister," or revenging the death of Darnley, made at the eleventh hour, and partly at the instance of Lennox, an attempt to get the trial postponed; but interference, at this stage, with the purpose of Mary and Bothwell was a vain dream. At six o'clock on the morning of the day of trial, April 12th, the provost-marshal of Berwick, sent by Drury with a special and urgent letter from Elizabeth to Mary, arrived in the city; but on seeking to deliver it, he was told that the Queen was asleep. At even so late an hour as ten o'clock, he found it, also, equally difficult to find a messenger who would venture to take the letter to the Queen, or obtain for him entrance to the palace. Bothwell's representative, the parson of Auldhamstocks, advised him to retire at his ease, since the Queen was not likely to do anything to serve his turn, until after the assize; Cockburn of Skirling treated him with still scanter courtesy; and although at last Lethington

came out and took the letter, he, about an hour afterwards, on being waylaid by the provost-marshal, assured him that the Queen was still asleep, and that the letter could not therefore be delivered until after the assize, towards which Lethington's steps were then bent.

Going to the assize, Bothwell rode in high state, on a courser said to have been Darnley's, and behind came a great cavalcade of his friends in gay procession, as if he whom they followed had been proceeding to almost a royal function, the streets being full of the clattering horsemen from the Canongate to the Castle. As he set out from the palace on what was indeed a marvellous quest—the quest of a sham absolution from murder, in order that he might appropriate the Queen—he looked back and up, for the God-speed of his lady love; and the Queen, who had now awaked from her golden slumbers, appeared at a window, between a servant of du Croc, the French ambassador, and the wife of Lethington, and nodded to him a smiling and friendly encouragement. So at least wrote Drury, but who was his authority for his romantic tale, he forbears to state.[1]

Since Lennox had declined to appear at the assize and merely sent his servant Cunningham to ask for delay, he gave the judges a technical excuse for the absolution of Bothwell. All that Bothwell—according to Ormiston, "looking down and sad like" as he entered—had to do was to plead "not guilty." If he was "sad like," it was perhaps more in sullen anger at the humiliation that was being put upon him, than on account either of repentance or dread. He did not wish Darnley other than dead, or himself other than suitor for the Queen's hand. "Hold

[1] Letter printed in full in Tytler, ed. 1864, iii. 413-15.

your tongue," he whispered to Ormiston, "I would not yet it wer to do. I have an outgait fra it, cum as it may."[1]

Bothwell, in truth, looked on himself, and with some reason, as a kind of public benefactor. According to Lord Herries' *Memoirs*,[2] he had sought to secure the influence of Moray in favour of an arrangement for an acquittal, "on the ground that what he had done and committed was not upon his own private interests, but was done by advice and consult of himself" [Moray]; and there was much to be said for this view of the matter. But in whatever way Moray may have received the soft impeachment of Bothwell, with whom, be it remembered, he was on quite friendly terms, it was discovered that he would at least be nothing more than passive in the matter. Also, his passivity had to assume a form which would absolve himself from indirect countenance of Bothwell's acquittal. Morton boldly declined to serve on the assize, because Darnley was kin to him. Moray, the notorious enemy of Darnley, washed his hands of all responsibility for Bothwell's acquittal, by leaving Scotland two days before the trial took place. He bade farewell in apparently a quite affectionate and touching way to his sister, who it is said: "wept at his departure, wishing he were not so precise in religion,"[3] and who gave him leave to go abroad, provided he did not make England or France his residence. He therefore went a-sightseeing to Milan and Venice, while his sister was proceeding with the accomplishment of her third wedlock.

The President of the assize for Bothwell's trial was Argyll, the hereditary Lord-Justice; but if none, apparently,

[1] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 572. [2] P. 91.
[3] Drury, in Tytler, iii. 415.

of the jury had been involved directly in the murder, the majority of them were either partisans of Bothwell, or enemies of Lennox or special friends of the Queen.[1] Though, therefore, they consulted long and anxiously, a verdict of "not guilty" was unanimously arrived at, on the technical plea of the absence of the accuser, some of the jury also basing their verdict on an error in the indictment, which stated the murder to have happened on the 9th. Such a verdict could only confirm the general belief in Bothwell's guilt: but neither he nor the Queen were in a position to be choosers in such a matter; they were already, by the murder, bound to each other, for better or worse, and they realised that, while in the way of their formal union there were dangers and difficulties enough, they had no choice but to proceed.[2] The rushing waters were covering the sands behind them, and their only chance of escape was to make for what seemed the firm ground of marriage, though this, alas! turned out to be a mere quaking bog. Shortly after the murder, Mary, according to a Casket document, gave a written promise to Bothwell to marry no other husband than he, whatever her friends or relatives might do to persuade her to the contrary; and on April 5th she and Bothwell signed another contract—Huntly and the parson of Auldhamstocks being witnesses—in which Bothwell bound himself to prosecute to its conclusion the process of divorce begun against his wife.

At the Parliament held on April 19th—at which

[1] For list see Keith, ii. 545-6.

[2] On April 20th Kirkcaldy wrote to Cecil that she had said that she cared not to leave France, England, and her own country for Bothwell, and would go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat, ere she left him (*For Ser.*, viii., No. 1119).

Bothwell bore the sceptre—Huntly and others were restored to their estates, Bothwell had a ratification of the captaincy of Dunbar, on account of his "greit and manifold gud service," and an Act was passed against the "setting up of placardes and billis and ticquettis of defamation."[1] Followed, also, in the evening of the same eventful day, the famous supper to the hero of the hour, in Ainslie's tavern, at which many of the chief nobles were caught as in a trap, and before the conclusion of their merry meeting were induced —some it may be from the irresponsible generosity produced by good liquor, and others, as they afterwards asserted, from dread of the daggers of Bothwell's bravoes who surrounded the house—to put their names to a band to stand by the said benefactor of his country, and to "set forward" his marriage to the Queen "with their counsel, satisfaction and assistance," as soon as the law put him in a position to crown his labours by placing himself at the Queen's disposal.

Next day the Queen—a good deal relieved, we must suppose, at the apparently smooth way in which her project was progressing, but still burdened, as the sequel was to show, with cares, anxieties and doubts—went to pay a visit to her child at Stirling Castle. But the journey, it would appear, was only a part of the magnificent farce that was being played by her and Bothwell in the sight of wondering Scotland. While she was engaged in her maternal endearments, Bothwell had gone to Liddesdale for a troop of his wild Borderers, with whom he lay in wait for her some six miles west of Edinburgh ; and as her cavalcade approached him on the 24th, he, with perfect courtesy, but in a manner that was meant to convey to others, if not

[1] *Acta Parl. Scot.*, ii. 550–52.

to her, that he was not to be gainsaid, carried her off with him to his castle of Dunbar.[1]

Nobody believed that Mary was Bothwell's unwilling prisoner; but the capture formed an admirable excuse, for even those who had signed Bothwell's band, to take up arms against him. According to Robert Melville, she sent forward a company of her attendants to pass to Edinburgh, to "charge the towne to be in armour fore her reskew"; and the town forces "past withoute their portis apone fut";[2] but how were they to catch up horsemen? On the 27th, also, certain of the lords convened at Stirling and sent her a letter offering her a rescue, but to this she answered, that while she had been evil and strangely handled, she had since been so well used that she had no cause to complain.[3] One reason of the ravishment was supposed to be the need to save her honour—by making her marriage so soon after the death of Darnley a necessity, and still more by making Bothwell's divorce from his wife a necessity; but it may be, also, that Mary allowed herself to be carried off, in order to frustrate any scheme that might be in progress to prevent the marriage—during the interval that was necessary to get the divorce effected.

On May 3rd, the Countess of Bothwell—influenced, we must suppose, mainly by the desire to restore the fallen fortunes of her father's house, for the story of Leslie that Bothwell gave her her choice between this and a cup of poisoned wine,[4] may be a mere invention of that

[1] *For. Ser.*, viii., Nos. 1131, 1139; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 177. Melville states that he boasted to marry the Queen, "wha wald or wha wald not; yea whither sche wald hir self or not."

[2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 326.

[3] *For. Ser.*, viii., Nos. 1161, 1173.

[4] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 122.

prelate—obtained a civil divorce from her husband on the ground of his adultery with one of her servants ; and on the 7th—apparently to satisfy Mary's Catholic scruples —a special Catholic commission pronounced the marriage to have been invalid from the beginning, for lack of a dispensation, which, however, it has been proved actually existed.[1] On the day before the latter court had pronounced its decision, Bothwell, accompanied by Huntly and Maitland, who had been with her at Dunbar—the latter entirely against his will—entered Edinburgh in procession, the cannon from the castle sounding a royal salute. From the west port they "raid up the bow to the Castell, the said Erle Bothwill leidand the quenis Majestie by the bridell as captyve."

All now needed was, first, the proclamation of the banns, and then the so-called religious ceremony. As for the banns, there was no difficulty so far as Bothwell was concerned, his man-of-all-work, the parson of Auldhamstocks, announcing in his own church—no doubt to the admiring wonder, as well as satisfaction, of the Borderers—the purpose of marriage, entertained between their lord and master and the sovereign lady of Scotland.[2] What Knox —prudently regardful as he ever was of the safety of his life, and distracted between the "obligations of our old Scottish kindness" and his inward horror of the contemplated wedding—would have done as to the banns is unhappily, since he was still an exile in England, only a matter of speculation ; but his colleague, John Craig, hardly comes out of the ordeal with credit. It seemed at first that he would decline to publish them, but although he

[1] Stuart's *Lost Chapter in the History of Mary Queen of Scots* (1874).
[2] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 1175.

made also an attempt to beard Bothwell in the Council he at last—either moved by the threat, as is said, of Bothwell that he "would provide him a cord," or by the assurance of the Justice Clerk that Mary "was neither ravischit nor yet retained in captivity"—gave in, and made the needed proclamation, weakly protesting, nevertheless, that he "took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested that marriage."[1]

On May 15th—Bothwell having on the previous day been created Duke of Orkney—the ceremony took place at Holyrood in the great hall of the Council. How entirely Bothwell's will prevailed over that of the Queen was manifested in the fact that Mary submitted to be married according to the Protestant rites, and according to them alone; the officiating clergyman being Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. As a large number of the nobles were already in practical revolt, the only lords present were Crauford, Huntly, Sutherland, Arbroath, Oliphant, Fleming, Livingstone, Glammis and Boyd; and "neither pleasure nor pastime" helped to lighten the almost penitential character of the occasion.[2] After the marriage the Bishop announced in a sermon "the penitence of Bothwell for his life past, expressing himself to have been an evil and wicked liver, whilk he would now amend and conform himself to the church."[3]

It may be said for Bothwell that his Protestantism—or at least his lack of Catholicism—was no new thing with him; he had all along steadfastly withstood all endeavours of the Queen to entice him to "idolatry." He

[1] See Anderson's *Collections*, ii. 278-82; *For. Ser.*, Nos. 1179, 1203, 1204.
[2] *Diurnal*, pp. 111-12; Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 178-9.
[3] Calderwood's *History*, ii. 358; *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 1226.

was therefore now acting with perfect consistency in also seeking to restrain the Catholic proclivities of the Queen, by obtaining, on May 23rd, the passing of an Act of Council declaring "the Queen's revocation of any writings that might have been purchased from her Majesty, for permitting any persons to use the old form of religion, because she intends inviolably to maintain the Act published concerning religion, upon her first arrival from France."[1] This did not, however, imply, as Froude supposed, that the Queen was herself prohibited from the use of Catholic services, or that "so long as they remained together both she and her husband were to be Protestants."[2] Mary, on the contrary, instructed the Bishop of Dunblane to announce to the King of France and her other French friends that she did not intend "to leave her religion for him, or any man upon earth."[3] Her obstinacy on this point, and her scruples about agreeing to a Protestant marriage, may have had something to do with the unpleasantness between them, though at this juncture it would have been unwise in Mary—supposing she regarded the question from a merely political point of view—to have utterly quenched the hopes of her Catholic supporters, by formally renouncing her faith. The dubious support she might obtain from the Protestants was hardly worth that price: her best chance was probably to seek to sit on two stools, though, as it happened, she seemed to fall between them. Nevertheless, in permitting one of her own subjects to decide that she was to be married to him only after the Protestant fashion, she was necessarily treating her own form of religion with open contempt. She may, as Bishop Leslie states, have returned from the ceremony in the utmost distress, and

[1] Keith, ii. 591. [2] *History*, cab. ed., viii. 154. [3] Keith, ii. 599.

may have wildly declared that "never again would she do anything opposed to the rites of the Catholic and Roman Church";[1] but this in no way lessened the ecclesiastical culpability of her compliance; and it is not surprising that it moved the Pope to declare that it was "not his intention to have any further communication with her, unless indeed, in time to come she shall show better signs of her life and religion than he has witnessed in the past."[2]

Not only to dispense, in the case of what she was supposed to deem a holy sacrament, with the rites of a Church on behalf of which she had but lately been preparing a great crusade, but to submit for the first time in her life to Protestant rites, was evidence sufficient of how entirely she had now lost her bearings. She had almost ceased meanwhile to be a responsible being. The trials of her political situation, the miseries of her marriage to Darnley, from which his murder had come to be the only method of escape, and her passionate infatuation for Bothwell, had all contributed their share in effecting that mental and moral shock which, in the case of a woman, dissolves the conventional respectabilities that have been her main guidance, and lets loose the full flood of her emotional instincts.

What faith is to be put in the stories of the domestic scenes between the—as Mary fondly anticipated—"most faithfull couple that ever God did knit together," is difficult to decide. The marriage was regarded by many as a mere outrage on decency, and it was especially so regarded by those who inform us of the scenes. We may, however, quite credit the report of Drury's correspondents that

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 123.
[2] *Papal Negotiations*, p. 397.

Mary—torn and rent, as for the last weeks she must have been, by harrowing emotions—was "the most changed woman of face that in so little time without extremity of sickness they have seen"; [1] and that on the day of the marriage she, in a fit of almost uncontrollable agitation, broke out into wild exclamations about killing herself is attested, we must believe quite honestly, both by du Croc and Melville.[2]

The humiliating ordeal of a Protestant marriage, which Bothwell was compelling her to undertake, was bound to cause her at the time the acutest misery. From the same authorities we learn that Bothwell, brutally jealous of her, as of all women with whom he had dealings, made her the subject of harsh and indelicate revilings; but the friends of Mary, it must be remembered, had somehow got possessed of the idea that the Queen was Bothwell's unwilling victim, which she was very far from being. Anyhow if Mary at first was chafing a little under Bothwell's bit, he apparently very soon had her well in hand; and during the latter weeks of their strange honeymoon they were usually on the best of terms with each other.

"The Duke," writes Drury, "openly uses great reverence to the Queen, ordinarily bareheaded, which she seems she would have otherwise, and will sometimes take his cap and put it on"; and a little later, "the Queen and Duke are quiet and merry together and daily are abroad, though their trains besides the soldiers are but few." [3]

The sequel was to shew that whatever temporary bickering there may have been between persons, both of whom were so passionate and impulsive, there was no abate-

[1] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 1226. [2] Teulet, ii. 297; Melville, p. 182.
[3] *For. Ser.*, viii., Nos. 1233, 1244.

ment in the warmth of Mary's infatuation for the strong desperado who had made her his obedient slave ; and the permanence and depth of the passion was not to be tested by the corrosive influences of long years of wedlock. Even before the two, formally and before the eyes of the wondering world, took one another for better or worse, a powerful section of the Scottish nobility—Catholics as well as Protestants—were preparing measures to compel, if possible, their separation, on the quite absurd ground that Bothwell, and practically Bothwell alone, among the nobles, was the murderer of Darnley, and that he had compelled the Queen, many supposed by sorcery, to take him to her bosom, in opposition to her real desires. They therefore made a band early in May to seek the Queen's liberty, to secure the preservation of the Prince, and to pursue the King's murderers ;[1] but the Queen and Bothwell were already mustering forces for their temporary protection, and hurried on the marriage before the lords—many of whom had but lately been abetting them in their follies—had elaborated their arrangements to prevent it.

Mary and Bothwell may have fondly hoped that once the ceremonies of the Church had hallowed their escapades, the majority of the nation would be disposed to make the best of what they could not help ; and there was just a possibility that Bothwell, had he been given a chance, might have turned over, as he said he would, a new leaf, and have proved after all to be the masterful husband the Queen needed to cure her of her Catholicism, and the strong ruler that would bind the various factions of the nation into unity. He had will and daring, and did not lack talents, if his moral obliquities had hitherto

[1] Kirkcaldy to Bedford, May 8th, in *Scottish Papers*, ii. 327

prevented him from turning them to a proper account: his letters announcing his good fortune to Charles IX. and Queen Elizabeth[1] are characterised both by dignity and diplomatic tact. But murder and rape do not form a promising beginning for a new career of usefulness; and, at any rate, it was soon seen that Scotland had no intention of risking its destinies in his hands.

Learning that an attempt was to be made to surprise them in the indefensible Holyrood, he and Mary, on June 6th, left this ill-fated abode for Borthwick Castle, bringing with them several soldiers and some pieces of artillery. Next day Maitland left the ship which he must now have been convinced was sinking, though it must be said for him that he had not sought entrance to it. Shortly after he had been carried to Dunbar he had been seeking to plan an escape: so far from encouraging the marriage he, like the best of Mary's friends, was greatly troubled about it; and shortly before he left the Queen, it was only the Queen's own intervention that prevented Bothwell reaping vengeance on him. Bothwell and the Queen intended to pass south to collect his Border followers, while means were being taken to muster the forces of the north and west by Huntly and the Hamiltons. Meantime the lords were far from idle. Suddenly, on the 10th, a large body of horsemen under Lord Hume surrounded Borthwick Castle; but Bothwell, making his escape from it, fled to Dunbar. Disappointed of their purpose, the insurgents did not dare, as yet, to lay hands on the Queen, but contented themselves with proposing to her—some of them probably in the conviction that she would agree to this—to join them in the pursuit of her fugitive

[1] Teulet, ii. 299; *Scottish Papers*, ii. 330.

husband. When she disdainfully scorned to do so, they assailed her with "diverse and unseemly speeches, too evil and unseemly to be told, which poor princess," writes Drury, "she did with her speech defend, wanting other means for her revenge."[1] In doubt as to what course they should follow, they now weakly resolved to return to Edinburgh without leaving any followers to keep watch on the castle; and the Queen, ever prompt to take advantage of any slip on the part of her enemies, dressed herself in men's clothes, and, booted and spurred, mounted a horse and rode off to her husband.[2] With characteristic superiority to the special weaknesses of her sex, she left all her female clothes and finery behind her; rightly judging that the best way to escape suspicion, that she was connected with an escaping Queen, was to avoid carrying any kind of luggage with her. Unhappily Dunbar was quite unsupplied with ladies' apparel, and she had therefore to borrow a very humble attire and dress herself "after the fashion of the women of Edinburgh in a red petticoat, sleeves tied with bows, a velvet hat and a muffler."[3]

After issuing a proclamation summoning all their subjects to their assistance, Mary and Bothwell set out on the following day with a guard of 200 harquebussiers and 60 horsemen towards Haddington, where other 600 horsemen joined them; and before they arrived at Seton they had a following of over 1,600. Meantime the lords, who were professedly bent only on the promotion of her welfare, had issued summonses at the different market crosses, charging all the lieges, on three hours' warning, to

[1] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 1289.
[2] Laing, ii. 107; Teulet ii. 303; *Diurnal*, p. 111.
[3] *For. Ser.*, 1566-8, No. 1313; see also Teulet, ii. 303.

pass forward for her deliverance; and on June 15th such forces as they had gathered marched from Edinburgh to find the Queen and Bothwell on the best of terms with each other, and posted with a numerous following on a strong position on Carberry Hill. By no means certain how to set about their task of getting the Queen out of Bothwell's hands, they drew up on rising ground opposite them and proposed a parley.

A valley that ran between the opposing forces placed any party who should begin the attack at a great disadvantage, but this was not the main cause of their mutual hesitation to attack. The lords had scruples about directly attacking the Queen; and they had some hope that through du Croc she might be induced to come to some agreement. On the other hand, delay suited the Queen and Bothwell, for they were in hourly expectation of reinforcements from the west under the Hamiltons. It was perhaps mainly with a view, as Beaton states,[1] to gain time that Bothwell made an offer to decide the question by single combat with any of the lords. At all events, when Lindsay took up the gage, the Queen put her veto on the combat; and now as the afternoon passed, and the evening wore on, the conviction began to get hold of Bothwell and the Queen that, without a blow being struck, the day was about to go against them. Anxiously though they must have scanned the horizon, there were still no signs of the expected Hamiltons; and, what was still more alarming, the lords had apparently begun to tamper successfully with the Queen's followers, many of whom were quietly leaving their ranks and making what haste they could to disappear, so that almost before she and Bothwell were

[1] Letter in Laing, ii. 113.

aware, they were left with little more than the mere skeleton of an army. Practically they were now wholly at the mercy of their opponents, and even an attempt at flight was out of the question, for precautions had already been taken against it. For several of the lords it would, however, have been exceedingly inconvenient had Bothwell found it needful to tell all that he knew of their dealings, first and last, against Darnley ; and, content with effecting his separation from the Queen, they agreed, on condition that the Queen placed herself under their protection, to permit their old confederate to escape. It was a rather ignominious ending to his series of high adventures; and, according to Beaton, it was with the greatest difficulty that the Queen could persuade him to leave the field.[1] There is no reason to suppose that he was influenced by a mere cowardly regard to his personal safety : doubtless he hoped to live to fight another day. Of the exceptional resource of the Queen he had proof enough in the past, and both he and she were too devoid of fear to lose their heads in even so terrible a predicament, or to fall a prey to the uncalculating excitement which, though it may assume the guise of courage, is a mere form of terror. Both were brave enough to submit, since the day had gone against them, to the painful ordeal of parting from each other ; and neither meant that it should be for long, though it turned out to be for ever.

The fact, however, was that Bothwell's case, at least, was beyond all hope. Finding it impossible to obtain any succour in the south, he went north to his late brother-in-law's country ; but it could hardly be expected that the Gordons would display any enthusiasm in the cause

[1] Laing, ii. 113.

of him who had not deemed the daughter of their late chief great or good enough to continue to be his wife. He therefore fled to his dukedom of the Orkneys, where he began to collect ships and adventurous seamen, purposing, until better times, to divert himself by the noble calling of a pirate. But luck was now dead against him, for Kirkcaldy of Grange, sent north with nine powerful vessels, captured some of his ships, and would have taken Bothwell himself, had not Bothwell, by superior seamanship, outsailed him and landed in Denmark. Here he expected to get, at least, temporary refuge; but on the real character of his doings in Scotland becoming known, he was placed in prison, and he died in 1578, after he had for some years lost his reason.

But whatever opinion be formed as to the part played at Carberry by Bothwell, there can be no question as to the soundness of the Queen's courage. For pure dauntlessness of heart she can never have had a superior. She waited until Bothwell had had time to be two or three miles on his way to Dunbar, before she turned her horse in the direction of her opponents. She also made it a condition that none who had assembled on her behalf should be molested then or afterwards; and after all her company had scattered and ridden away,[1] she faced alone the lowering looks and brutal insults of her rebels. She came towards them, wrote an informant of Drury's, "with as great a stomach as ever she had."[2] Now that Bothwell had left her, she may have counted on being treated with the outward forms of courtesy, and on being enabled to make some kind of amicable arrangement which would afford her the chance of yet turning

[1] Beaton in Laing, ii. 113.

[2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 333.

the tables, as she had done before, on her opponents. But the formal courtesy of the leaders, during the negotiations, proved deceptive. Her fearless, and perhaps indignant, bearing moved to fury all the latent hatred of the disciples of Knox against the Jezebel whom the Lord had now delivered into their hands; and as she approached them they greeted her with cries of "Burn the whore! Burn the murderess of her husband!" Their cries, however, instead of abating her courage, only aroused her passionate indignation, and she "talked of nothing but hanging and crucifying them all,"[1] while to Lindsay, who had dared to present himself as the challenger of her husband, she swore by his right hand held in hers, "I will have your head for this and therefore assure you."[2]

Alone against thousands, she had, however, now no option but to set out with her captors towards Edinburgh; for though she ingeniously proposed to Morton that she might be allowed to ride on to thank the Hamiltons for their loyalty in coming to her assistance and to bid them to disperse, promising faithfully to return, Morton failed to see the need of any such formality.[3]

And so the brutal crowd of howling rebels conveyed to her capital, in a kind of mock state, the outraged woman, still nominally their Queen, making hideous, with their coarse revilings of her, the beautiful summer night. "An ensigne," writes Calderwood "was carried before here wheresover she went, by two men, stented betwixt two spears, wherin was painted her husband lying dead under a tree, and beside him her young sonne at his

[1] Du Croc in Teulet, ii. 310.
[2] Drury to Cecil, June 18th, in the Record Office.
[3] Laing, ii. 113.

head heaving up his hands, and above his head these words, 'Judge and revenge my cause O Lord.' She could skarse be holdin upon horseback, for greefe and faintnesse. So soon as she recovered, she burst furth in teares, threats, reproaches, as her discontent moved. All the way she lingered, looking for some helpe. She came to Edinburgh about ten hours at night, her face all disfigured with dust and teares. The throng of the people was so thick that it behoved the army to march singly man by man."[1] She was not brought to Holyrood, but through the crowds of excited citizens to the house of Henderson of Fordel—then provost of Edinburgh—in the High Street, opposite the Cross; and before her window, which faced the street, the implacable mob hung their insulting ensign.

On the morrow Mary's excitement, so far from having spent itself, had only increased; and now, wildly hysterical, she showed herself at the window, with dishevelled hair, and partly undressed, calling on the passers-by for help.[2] Seeing Maitland passing, she prayed him for the love of God to come and speak to her, and remonstrated against the wrong of seeking to separate her from her husband, with whom she was prepared to live and die with the greatest content on earth. Maitland—who detested Bothwell as bitterly as Bothwell hated him—sought, so he said, to mitigate her fondness for the Border ruffian, by supplying her with the interesting intelligence that Bothwell had written to Lady Jean that he still regarded her as his wife, and the Queen merely as his concubine. This is just what Bothwell might have written, even had he not meant it sincerely. But the Queen was not moved by Maitland's

[1] Calderwood's *History*, ii. 304. [2] Beaton in Laing, ii. 314.

story in the way Maitland had hoped. She declined for a moment to credit it ; and, with every symptom of meaning what she said, suggested that she and Bothwell might be placed together in a ship and permitted to go whither fortune might decide. This Maitland seemed to think might be the best way out of the almost hopeless embroglio ;[1] but Mary could hardly have been depended on to persist in so abject an attitude towards her adverse fortune. Indeed only a little before, or afterwards, she managed to convey a message to Sir James Balfour, since May 8th, Captain of the Castle, to "desyre him to keip a gud hart to hir, and quhairever sche was convoyit or past, that he rendered noucht the Castell to the Lordis."[2]

"Though her body be restrained," wrote Drury, "yet her heart is not dismayed ; she cannot be dissuaded from her affection to the Duke, but seems rather to offer sooner to receive harm herself than that he should."[3] Some, including Mr. Lang,[4] prefer, for Mary's sake, to doubt the statements of Maitland and many more, that Mary was meanwhile determined to cling to Bothwell, as well as the story that she wrote an intercepted letter of comfort to him. This letter, says Mr. Lang, would have been produced along with the Casket Letters, as evidence against her, had she written it. According to this view of the matter, her accusers must be deemed, of course, incapable of forging such a letter, and therefore the Casket Letters must be genuine ; but really what kind of heroine would such a proper theory make Mary to have been ?

Bothwell—blackguard and bully though he was—had

[1] Teulet ii. 311-12.
[2] Beaton in Laing, ii. 114.
[3] *For. Ser.*, viii. 1566-68 ; No. 1313.
[4] *Mystery*, p. 158 ; *History*, ii. 180.

ventured his all for her; he had saved her from her brother's clutches after the murder of Riccio; he alone was bold enough to take in hand the task of ridding her of Darnley; he, it may be mainly at her own instigation, had married her in the face of protesting Scotland; such as he was, she had taken him for better or worse, and now the worse had come, come to the man whom apparently she still loved. Had she now at once agreed to renounce him, and allowed it to be falsely understood that he, and he alone, was to blame for what had happened to her, it may be that the Casket Letters, which her enemies got hold of on June 20th, would never again have been heard of, and some kind of agreement, with Elizabeth's help and blessing, might have been patched up between Mary and the lords; but this would have meant that Mary possessed the "heart of wax" which she had so despised in Darnley, and that she was fundamentally the selfish devotee of pleasure and ambition that some declare her to have been, capable it might be of undying hatred against her foes, but of no generous regard for those who had stood by her in her dire distress, and lacking especially in that capability of complete self-sacrifice in behalf of the object of her passion—however unworthy he might be—which is the glory of womanhood, even when many of the woman's best qualities have become sadly dimmed.

Still, even had Mary agreed to split on Bothwell, she might not have fared appreciably better than she did. Her enemies were many and unsparing, and Knox, now free to return to Scotland, was soon again in his old pulpit of St. Giles, and, now restrained by no considerations of expediency, was thundering against her, "threatenynge the great plague of God to thys wholle countrye and nation

From a drawing by A. Callender.

LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.

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yf she be spared from her condigne ponyshment."[1] But mere possibilities need not further concern us. Since she would not, and did not, renounce and denounce Bothwell, it became merely a question of whether she was to be immediately tried and executed, or detained meanwhile in captivity; and mainly, it is said, through the insistence of Morton, who in Moray's absence was the leader of the lords, the latter alternative was agreed to.

About nine o'clock, therefore, on the evening of Monday she was convoyed down the High Street between Morton and Atholl, with a guard of three hundred men, the insulting ensign being still flaunted before her, it may be, to satisfy the jealous Protestant citizens that no good was intended her. When the crowd had seen her safe in Holyrood, and had dispersed to their beds, she was hurried during the night to the castle of Lochleven. The choice of this house as her prison was determined by two considerations: it was more than a mile from the shore, and its proprietor was Sir William Douglas, who was both a near relative of Morton and the half-brother of Moray, while Moray's mother, a former mistress of James V., was in charge of the household. The warrant for her conveyance thither was signed by Atholl, Morton, Glencairn, Mar, Graham, Hume, Sanquhar and Ochiltree; and the reason given for her imprisonment was that instead of manifesting a willingness to have the murderer of Darnley punished, she rather "apperit to fortefie and mentein the said erll Bothvile and his complices in the saids wickeit crymes, nor to suffer justice pas forward, quhairthrow, gif hir heines suld be left in that state, to follow her awn

[1] *Works*, vi. 554.

inordinat passion, it wald not faill to succeid to the finall confusion and exterminatione of the haill realme."[1]

The chief aim, meanwhile, of her captors appeared to be to induce her to consent to a divorce;[2] but since she would not agree to this, giving as her final reason that she was seven weeks—she put it thus—gone with child, they resolved, according to a statement of Maitland to Throckmorton, "to put in execution the coronation of the young Prince with the Queen's consent [if they can obtain it], promising her, if so, that they mean to neither touch her in honour nor life, neither to proceed against her judicially by way of process; otherwise they are determined to proceed against her publicly by such evidence as they can charge her with."[3] On July 25th, Throckmorton further wrote that if the lords could not by fair means induce the Queen to their purpose, they meant to charge her with three crimes: (1) "Tyranny, for breach and violation of their laws and decrees of the Realm, as well as that which they call Common Laws as their Statute Laws," (2) "with Incontinency as well with the Earl Bothwell as with others," and (3) "with the Murder of her husband, whereof (they say) they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well by the testimony of her own hand-writing, which they have

[1] Laing, ii. 117.

[2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 354.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 359. Mr. Lang, on the faith of some general denunciations of the romancing Randolph (see Chalmers, ii. 486-7), supposes that Maitland was, at this time, bent solely on Mary's secret execution; but, strange to say, if that were so, it was the general opinion both of Maitland's friends and foes that he was doing his utmost to save her. He was the trusted friend of Mary's devoted supporters the Melvilles, he was denounced for his efforts on Mary's behalf by the thundering Knox; and we must suppose also that his wife, Mary Fleming, who had great influence over him, believed in his sincere desire to save the Queen,

recovered, as also by sufficient witnesses."[1] By "the testimony of her own hand-writing" they meant the Casket Letters, and by "sufficient witnesses" they appeared to have had in their mind those of the subordinates of Bothwell who had lately been caught and questioned.

From their course of action, the lords declined to be turned either, on the one hand, by the denunciations of Knox or the clamours of the populace for her immediate execution, or, on the other, by the protests of Elizabeth that "as a sister sovereign their Queen cannot be detained prisoner or deprived of her princely state."[2] They really could not afford to adopt as the guide of their conduct the maxim of Elizabeth that "it does not appertain to subjects so" [by force] "to reform their prince, but to deal by advice and counsel, and failing thereof to recommend the rest to Almighty God," nor could they hand over to Elizabeth, as Mary's "next cousin and neighbour," the duty of bringing her to reason. Even if they had had perfect faith in the sincerity and goodwill of Elizabeth towards them, and Mary, and Scotland, they had already gone too far to be able to turn back with impunity.

It is of course quite easy to indulge in such epithets against the lords, as "cowards, hyprocrites, villains"; but had they been angels, messengers from the Lord of Heaven, could they have decided to restore Mary to her throne? Not that they were influenced by angelic motives, not that mercy was uppermost in their thoughts: they were merely politicians in a very bad dilemma. To the chief Protestant leaders, who now threatened her with persecution for the murder of Darnley, riddance from him had been

[1] Keith, ii. 699. [2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 340.

a matter for congratulation, not in any way for grief. But since his murder had in no way bettered their position with the Queen, they were seeking to make use of their knowledge of the Queen's connection with it, as a political weapon against her. That it was mean of them to do so, goes without saying; and it was very much a case of setting a thief to catch a thief; but the desperate disease seemed to call for a desperate remedy. All that can be said for the lords is that they did not mean to press the charge unless the Queen compelled them to do so—that the real difficulty was Mary herself. After all that had come and gone, they would have shown themselves arrant fools, had they sought to restore her immediately to power: it was a purely impossible feat. She had had, in fact, her chance, and had failed—failed ignominiously and even shamefully. What extenuating circumstances there might be hardly affected the situation, for a sovereign who fails has usually to pay the full penalty of failure—whether the failure be, in the strict sense, deserved or not.

In their resolution to defy Elizabeth, the lords were confirmed by the attitude of France. We must suppose that the copies of the Casket Letters, sent to France a few days after they were supposed to be discovered, had convinced the French Government that Mary's case was hopeless. It was impossible, with the information the Lords possessed, to indulge in threats or even in strong remonstrances, and Villeroy was therefore sent as special messenger to instruct du Croc, while doing what he could to aid the Queen in her difficulties, to regard with a certain lenience any steps the Scots might deem it necessary to take against her on account of her culpable follies; or at least not to act in such a way as would endanger the

goodwill between the two countries and thus play into the hands of England.[1]

Moved either by the fear of a public trial or a secret execution, Mary, on July 24th, signed an act of demission, resigning, on account of her broken health and spirits, the government to her infant son, another act nominating Moray as regent, and a third appointing a commission of regency to carry on the government until the arrival of Moray, or, should he decline to act as sole regent, to join with him in carrying on the government.[2] According to Sir James Melville, before she did so, his brother Robert, in the name of Atholl, Mar, Maitland and Kirkcaldy, all specially disposed to befriend her, advised her to comply, on the ground that any conclusion she might arrive at, while a prisoner, was not morally or legally binding.[3] On July 24th, the Prince was crowned King in the parish church of Stirling, Knox, at last, in a manner, triumphant over the sovereign who had dared to defy him, preaching the sermon, while Morton took the oath on the infant's behalf. Over the coronation there was much rejoicing among the Protestants. In Edinburgh it was celebrated, according to Throckmorton, by very near a thousand bonfires, the people making "great joy, dancing and acclamations."[4] Notwithstanding, however, her demission of the government, Mary was kept in even more rigorous confinement than before, partly because she had already won the favour and goodwill of the most part

[1] Teulet, ii. 322-5.

[2] *Register of the Privy Council*, i. 530-40. According to Nau, when Lord Lindsay induced her by his threats to sign her demission, "she was lying on her bed in a state of very great weakness partly in consequence of a great flux, the result of a miscarriage of twins, her issue to Bothwell" (*Life of Mary*, p. 60).

[3] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 189.

[4] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 370.

of the house, partly because it was hoped that by the extreme rigour she would be induced to renounce Bothwell.[1] Meantime Moray, to whom a messenger had been sent, informing him of his sister's imprisonment in Lochleven and of the discovery of the Casket Letters, arrived in Edinburgh on August 12th, where to Throckmorton he professed himself doubtful how to act, "abhorring on one side the King's murder," and on the other expressing "great commiseration for the Queen his sister." Soon, however, Throckmorton discovered that he concurred with the lords, "yea and as seriously as any one of them."[2]

From the account of Throckmorton, we gather that Moray's conference with his sister at Lochleven was exciting and agitating: "Sometimes the Queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness and misgovernment, some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate": and we must conclude that, as Nau states,[3] she at first opposed his acceptance of the government, for Moray left her that night "in hope of nothing but God's mercy." After what, we must suppose, was a restless and fevered night, she, however saw the propriety of not merely yielding to the inevitable, but of doing her utmost to conciliate her brother, "whereupon she took him in her arms and kissed him, and shewed herself very well satisfied, requiring him in any ways not to refuse the Regency of the Realm but to accept it at her desire."[4] And so, after a show of reluctance on Moray's part, who wished her to understand that he was doing not himself, but her, a high favour, it was affectionately

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 372.
[2] *Ibid.*, 380–81.
[3] *Mary Stuart*, pp. 66–71.
[4] Keith, ii. 737.

decided. Finally the loving brother, with no regard whatever to the loving sister's reputation, took the precaution of getting the action taken by him and the lords against her formally ratified by an Act of Parliament of December 15th, which declared that what had been done, had been done in her own default, "inasmuch as it was clearly evident both by her letters, and by her marriage to Bothwell that she was privie, act and part, of the actual device and deed" of the murder of the King. Thus, by her formal renouncement of the crown, Mary saved nothing but her life. She was virtually pronounced guilty without trial—because her leading opponents dared not allow all the facts to come to light—and so far as the lords could effect their purpose, she was made to lose not only her liberty but her honour.

CHAPTER XI

IN ELIZABETH'S PARLOUR

FROM the time Mary entered Lochleven Castle her political career was really over: during the remainder of her life she merely continued to reap what she had been sowing from the time that she had wedded Darnley. So long as she lived, she was bound to be the centre of political intrigues, but the possibility of her restoration to her throne except by foreign aid was now over. Politically all might have been well with her had she been satisfied with getting rid, even in the manner she did, of Darnley, and had she immediately after the achievement put herself under Moray's protection, renouncing her Catholic faith and the fond daydream of becoming wife of the hazardous Bothwell. Neither Moray nor the other Protestant lords were much concerned about the revenge of a murder which they had, for reasons of their own, connived at: what they objected to was that Bothwell should be rewarded for a service, really rendered to them as well as to the Queen, by the Queen's hand, and that the Queen by marrying Bothwell should be in a position to have them at her mercy. On the other hand the Queen, by marrying Bothwell, had so damaged and disgraced the Catholic cause, that, from this time, the triumph of Protestantism both in England and Scotland became well-nigh certain.

Detail from the picture in the possession of Blair's College, Aberdeen.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

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Shortly after Mary's resignation of the crown, it seemed—if the reports that reached Drury and other English agents are to be credited—as if a load of care had been removed from her ; and she was gaily doing her best to relieve the tedium of her imprisonment by cards, dancing and other amusements. She was treated with all the respect due to a royal lady, being waited on by "five or six ladyes, four or five gentlewomen, and two chamberers where of one is a Frenche woman."[1] The sum allowed for her meals was £10 Scots a day, that allowed for the maintenance of her son, and the half of that assigned for the diets of her brother, the Regent. The Venetian ambassador at Paris learned from England in January, 1568, that her imprisonment had been so relaxed that she was permitted occasionally to go hunting under a guard ;[2] but the story is not corroborated, and is quite incredible. After she had affectionately settled the question of the regency with her brother, the rigour of her imprisonment was, however, greatly mitigated ; and when he paid her a visit towards the close of October, he found "her as merry and wanton as any time since she was detained."[3] The assassination of Darnley appears to have troubled her conscience but little if at all—not any more than it had the consciences of Moray and his friends, who had practically set the bait by which she had been caught and imprisoned. That she had been caught, and that an attempt had been made to shift the whole responsibility for the deed on to the shoulders of her and Bothwell, was enough to remedy any sense of guilt that

[1] Stevenson's *Selections*, p. 205.
[2] *Venetian State Papers*, 1558–80, p. 408.
[3] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 1778.

may have been troubling her, the more especially that, after all, no one had been more to blame for Darnley's death than Darnley himself.

Delivered now from her pressing anxieties as to her immediate fate—having no longer to dread a public trial or a private execution, having baffled the attempt to entice her to disgrace herself by renouncing Bothwell, and having got over the struggle with her pride about agreeing to even a formal demission of her crown—her native resolution and energy began to assert themselves. If also, as Nau states,[1] she had a miscarriage of twins about the time she demitted her crown, her anxiety, as to any public shame, on account of her ante-nuptial relations with Bothwell, would be at an end. What her feelings towards Bothwell now were it is hard to tell; but, so far as is known, she never, while in Lochleven, proposed to abandon him; after her escape from Lochleven, she ordered Hepburn of Riccarton first to seize Dunbar Castle and then to carry news of her escape to Bothwell in Denmark;[2] and Drury, after she had gone to England, wrote that he was privately informed that she intended neither to leave Bothwell nor to cease her efforts to obtain the English throne.[3]

But whatever her intention towards Bothwell may have been, the story that in March, 1568, Moray, weary of the cares and anxieties of his regency, desired to arrange for her marriage with Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, was—if the topic was so much as named between them—rejected

[1] P. 60. Major Martin Hume has confused Nau's statement, so far as the date is concerned, with a story of Labourier in his edition of Castelnau, homologated by Labanoff, ii. 63.

[2] Tyler's *History* iii. 285.

[3] *For. Ser.*, viii., No. 2229.

by her, for nothing more is heard of it. As for a similar rumour about Morton, it only illustrates how little faith is to be put in any rumours of the kind. Even had Morton not already had a wife—though she was insane—the story that he, the captain of the Riccio assassins, and the head of the late conspiracy against Mary and Bothwell, should now propose to himself to fill Bothwell's shoes as the Queen's lord and master, can only have been the invention of some admirable jester. Though with a repute as a squire of dames almost as distinguised as that of Bothwell, Morton, we must suppose, would have shrunk from such a high enterprise as taking to wife the Queen, had she even herself proposed it to him. Unequalled among the nobles in mere nerve and resolution, he lacked Bothwell's wayward daring; and, besides, he could not but know that, as Drury mildly puts it, the Queen "could no way like" any such proposal. The fact was that to think of a compromise between the Queen and those who had done her such despite, was to imagine an utterly vain thing. Even had the lords deemed it safe to allow her at large, on any conditions, they would have had to face the denunciations of Knox and the clergy who were thirsting for her blood; and Mary herself would have been satisfied with nothing less than the ruin of her foes. Her whole thought was now concentrated on securing her liberty as a free untrammelled sovereign, with power to dispose of herself as might seem good in her own eyes.

She was, however, prepared to pretend to more than like any one ready to act as her knight in achieving her liberty. At a very early period of her imprisonment, that knight appears to have been found in the person of "pretty George Douglas," younger brother of the laird of Lochleven.

Thus, on October 20th, 1567, Drury writes—and in this case, at least, he was not far astray—"The suspicion of the over great familiarity between the Queen here and Mr. Douglas brother to laird of Lochleven increases more and more, and worse spoken of" than he may write.[1] The "worse spoken of" is merely a characteristic specimen of Protestant and English calumny, though it gave rise later to an absurd legend that Mary bore George Douglas a child before her escape from the castle.[2] As she did not bear it after her escape, she must, so they reasoned, have borne it in the castle. There is really not a shadow of proof that there was anything that is termed "wrong" between them, or even any great familiarity; though Mary, it must be remembered, had now sadly lost her bearings; and at any rate, having been driven to make the best use she could of almost the only weapons now left her, she apparently did not scruple to encourage wildly ambitious hopes in the breast of the young man, as well as in the scheming head of his veteran mother.

The omniscient Drury, in two letters to Cecil—both written on the second, though he may have got his information on the first of April—reports that Mary had broken with her brother to permit her to marry Douglas, and on his declining to consider the matter, had afterwards, to the Lady of Lochleven, indulged in bitterly sarcastic railings about the felicity of having so kind a brother as Moray was proving himself to be.[3]

If Mary did make such a proposal to her brother, it was probably with merely strategic intent, and this of a double kind. On the one hand, she may have desired

[1] *For. Ser.*, viii. No. 1792. [2] Wodrow, i. 166.
[3] Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 266; *For. Ser.*, viii. No. 2106.

to impress the Douglases with the sincerity of her desire to marry George, and, on the other, she may actually have wished, for her own reasons, that George, on account of the proposal she had made to her brother, might be prohibited from staying in the castle. If so, her wise and cautious brother promptly fell into her trap. George being expelled, Moray perhaps felt a certain sense of security against the Queen's immediate escape, whereas her aim probably was that George should be expelled, for his continued absence from the castle being in this manner accounted for, he was able, without attracting special attention to his movements, to complete the outside preparations for enabling her to get quickly off to a place of refuge, and for an immediate rising on her behalf.

Before this, Mary had, on March 25th, made an attempt to get away by putting on the dress of a laundress who had come to the castle; she came and sat down with a bundle of clothes on her back—keeping her face well hid—in the boat, which had brought the laundress; but, shortly after the boatmen commenced to row towards the shore, they discovered her by her white hands, and, in spite of all her promises and protestations, rowed her back to durance.[1]

The escape on May 2nd had clearly been planned with much skill and forethought both by Mary on the island, and her confederate, George Douglas, on the shore. The details as to how the escape was effected, cannot, however, be regarded as quite trustworthy, and this for the simple reason that Mary had to construct such a story as would not implicate her confederates. There can, for example, hardly be a doubt that, as Sir James Melville supposes,[2] not only George Douglas but "the auld lady

[1] Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 267. [2] *Memoirs*, p. 199.

his mother" was "upon the consail." If she was not, she must have felt more than uneasy when informed by a chattering visitor that a great troop of horse had passed through the village that day as if going to a day of law, and that George Douglas was then staying in the village.

But not only the mother, the laird himself—though in such a case a man has a higher sense of honour, and also of danger to himself, than a woman—may have been led to connive at her escape. At any rate he was not a strong anti-Marian, and later suggested to Morton that Mary had been punished enough, and might well now be restored to her throne: "There ran no vice in her," he tells his noble relative, "but that the same is as largely in you, except in that your Grace condescended not to the destruction of your wife."[1] Nor is it certain whether the servant Drysedale was a spy, or in league with George Douglas. Mary, through Nau, affirmed that he was a spy, and that she, in order to keep him out of the way, sent him to draw some money she proposed to give him; while Kirkcaldy[2] and Drury supposed, but without proof, that he was a carrier of letters and messages between the Queen and George Douglas. Similarly, the story that the lad, Willie Douglas, known as "the foundling," cleverly stole the key of the great gate from the dining-table, by throwing his handkerchief over it while serving his master, and lifting key and handkerchief together, looks uncommonly like a myth, for why should the key have been lying there, and where were his master's eyes that he did not at once detect its absence.[3]

[1] Letter in Robertson's *History*, ii. 417.
[2] *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, i. 29.
[3] Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 269.

Whether also the Queen, as Nau affirms, obtained, as a signal that all was ready, "a pearl in the shape of a pear" from George Douglas by a maid, or whether she got the information by word of mouth from Drysedale, who had returned to the castle, it would be rash to decide. In any case, she of course got all the information she required; and Willie Douglas, having got the key, either by what seems a very rash manœuvre, or indirectly as a a free gift from the laird or his mother, made no delay in conveying the Queen, with a little girl about ten years old, through the gate, locking it behind him, throwing away the key, or placing it in a cannon's mouth, handing the Queen and girl into his boat, and plying his oars with the deftness of one daily accustomed to the task. The other boats he had, it is said, fastened in such a manner that they could not easily be got away; and he had need, for there would be no difficulty in getting over the wall, at a spot which only required a leap of some seven or eight feet—a leap which, if Nau writes the truth, the Queen had herself some thoughts of attempting.

In any case, we have no information as to what those in the castle did, when their prisoner made off from it in broad daylight—whether there was soon raised a helpless alarm, or whether they all went to bed in happy ignorance that their captive had fled. As for the captive, she, on taking her seat in the boat, began to wave a white veil, upon which a man, no other than George Douglas, was seen to rise from the side of the lake and hurry towards the village, whence, soon after, he issued with a small troop of horsemen and some led horses—all the laird's stables in the village being emptied—who had reached the water's edge by the time the boat touched the shore.

In an instant afterwards they were galloping southwards towards the ferry across the Forth. Two miles on their way thither they were joined by the horsemen whom the chattering dame had seen pass through the village, and who were no other than a number of gentlemen under Mary's great friend, Lord Seton. After they crossed the ferry they were met by other fifty horsemen under Lord Claud Hamilton, and the cavalcade, without halt of any kind, continued their journey to Niddrie Castle. There the Queen passed what remained of the night, and, besides writing a dispatch to Beaton, her ambassador in Paris, announcing her escape, sent forward Hepburn of Riccarton to seize Bothwell's stronghold of Dunbar, and then to carry the news of her escape to his chief in Denmark.

Next day the Queen journeyed towards Hamilton. But for the Hamiltons, she would, it is supposed, have made as quickly as possible for Dumbarton Castle. That was clearly her better course, for, should her forces be defeated, there was still left her the chance of escape to France. It may be that her real intention was, meanwhile, at once to leave Scotland and wait for better times ; for now she would, even if the rising against the Regent were successful, be virtually in the hands of the Hamiltons : they, the leaders of the movement in her favour, were supporting her, of course, entirely for their own ends. To the worn, battered and weak old Duke—then dozing out his declining years on the estates in France by which the French king had bribed him to work the will of the Queen-Dowager—time seemed at last to be promising avengements. The Queen-Dowager was long dead and gone, and France no longer possessed the Scottish Queen. Lennox—after France and the Queen-Dowager—had indeed had his triumph

After the picture by Ketel in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton.

JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN
(Duke of Châtelherault).

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over him ; but the joy of Lennox had lately been turned into woeful mourning, though there was still a weak infant, of the supposed race of Lennox, between the Hamiltons and the crown. Bothwell, also, possibly a very early rival with Arran for the Queen's hand, and at any rate an apparent occasion of Arran's misfortunes, had got his chance to become the Queen's husband ; but had it done much good either to the Queen or Bothwell? Arran, it is true, on whom his father's hopes had been so fondly, but vainly, set from the time of Mary's infancy, in the old stirring times of Henry VIII. and Hertford and Beaton, was now, alas ! a chronic lunatic, with intervals of sanity but long enough to make him and his father the more acutely conscious of the soreness of their calamity. The Queen's days of virgin innocence were also over : she was now a sort of triple widow—if she was not, in some sense, a wife ; her matrimonial ventures had, none of them, done her much good either in fortune or in character ; and if not still in love, as may be she was, with the portentous ruffian who had fled to Denmark, her heart must have been fuller of disgust and pain than of fond anticipations about another wedlock. Her reputation—whatever had been her own share in bringing this about—was sadly soiled by events which had made far from reputable Europe shake its venerable head ; and, Queen though she still professed to be, she was, even if her kingdom had been assured to her, a very dubious matrimonial gift to any suitor.

But the Hamiltons had now the chance of the throne by either murdering or marrying her, according as circumstances might determine ; and at first they selected the murder project. Only a few days after she had been sent to Lochleven, they were almost as eager as the fiery Knox and

his brother clerics that she should be sent out of the world as speedily as possible, their hope being that the somewhat rickety infant she had borne, might either soon join her in the shades, or, should he live, might be made to marry a daughter of their house ;[1] but now again there suddenly rose up between them and their hopes the calm, enigmatic and resolute bastard, who, refusing all their proposals for any kind of compromise, gave them to know, in answer to their protestations, that "no subject nor place should be exempted from the King's authority and obeying himself as Regent."[2]

With Moray already recognised as governor of Scotland, and virtually second person in the kingdom, it was clear to the Hamiltons that no good, but the opposite, could come to them from the Queen's death, to compass which they had, only a few weeks previously, been so eager. Whether she lived or died, it was incredible that the strong, clever and ambitious Moray, precise Christian though he was, would hand over the crown of Scotland to those with whom he was now at bitter feud, instead of placing it on his own righteous head ; for be it remembered Moray had been legitimated at the instance of the sister whom—no doubt for very good public, if also for private, reasons—he was confining in Lochleven ; and he had, thus, more than plausible claims to the succession, should the infant King, now the mere puppet of Moray's party, fail to survive long enough to have children. With the Hamiltons it was plainly a case of now or never. Instead, therefore, of continuing to insist, as they had been lately doing, that the Queen, with all convenient speed, should be sent to execution, they, so soon as they found that Moray had definitely

[1] *Scottish Papers*, i. 374. [2] *Ibid.*, 387.

determined to accept the regency, began entirely to change their tune. They were now proposing to themselves that Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, and, in consequence of the lunacy of his eldest brother Arran, nearest prospective heir to the Hamilton dignities and honours, should take the Queen, with "all her crimes broad blown," to his matrimonial bosom.

Early in September they and other malcontents held a secret meeting, at which they appointed three regents—Lord John Hamilton, until his father the Duke returned from France, Argyll, a consistent foe of Lennox, and Huntly, the mortal enemy of Moray. The object of this opposition combination, as of the other, was professedly to pursue the late King's murderers, though like some of the Regent's party, some also of the opposition, as Argyll and Huntly, had themselves been very closely associated with the murder. They, however, differed from the other party in that, while they professed—though the professions of some of them were in this respect but of little worth—to be perfectly loyal to the Prince, they declined to be loyal to him as king; and instead of him they were bent on setting up again, as sovereign, his mother, whose liberty, not from Bothwell, about whom nothing was said, but from Lochleven, it was their main object to effect. For this cause Argyll was to have brought 5,000 men, the Hamiltons, Huntly, Herries and Crawford 1,000 each, and Lords Fleming, Livingstone and other lesser barons as many as they could muster.[1]

This premature attempt at a rising was, however, easily and speedily stopped by the Regent, the Hamiltons, who had rashly assembled at Glasgow, quickly scattering, and

[1] *Scottish Papers*, i. 394.

the other lords making terms separately. Their main difficulties had, of course, been how to effect the Queen's liberty, and how to promote a successful rising unless she were at liberty and at their head. The present uprising was a renewal of the old attempt by the same leaders, joined by several other lords, as Eglinton and Cassilis ; and this renewal was partly owing to the efforts of George Douglas and the information he was able to give them as to the chances of the Queen's escape. Nothing definite was to be done until she did escape, but all were, apparently, warned to hold themselves in readiness for the expected good fortune. With the Queen free and at their head, the Hamiltons had, they might well think, a very good chance of coming at last into their kingdom.

Mary, of course, must have known all about their particular plans and purposes—their previous eagerness for her execution, as well as their intention now to concuss her, in some fashion or other, to marry, in the end, Lord John Hamilton ; but she had no other option than to do her best to make her own use of them, as she was, at the same time, making use of the ingenuous George Douglas, who, it was said, was "in a fantasy of love with her," which, however, there was no reason to suppose that Lord John Hamilton was. The love of George Douglas was, most likely, the mere innocent calf-love of a youth for a beautiful woman, probably somewhat older, and certainly very much cleverer, than himself, and he got cured of it by-and-by, though he seems afterwards to have remained as loyal to her as ever. Plainly the Queen could not marry both, and almost as plainly she could have had no intention, if she could help it, of marrying either. George Douglas, now that she was with the Hamiltons,

had already entirely lost his chance; and the Hamiltons speedily lost theirs, by their too great eagerness to snatch the prize which they too rashly deemed to be already within their reach.

Before the Queen's escape, she must of course have had direct communication with them, and have come to some kind of understanding. The substance of it seems to have been embodied either by her or the Hamiltons in an outrageously denunciatory document,[1] in which she is represented as revoking her demission of the crown, and then by her fiat as sovereign conferring on the Duke and his successors the office of protector and regent of the kingdom, and tutor to her son during his minority and her own absence abroad; and in the event of the death of her son and heir, without issue, the crown and sceptre of Scotland was to pass to them and their heirs and successors perpetually. The document was intended to be published as a manifesto to Scotland and the world, all kings, princes, dukes and others being invited to assist her to recover her just authority. Its more notable clauses were the passionate denunciations of her opponents, more particularly the Earl of Moray "quhome she, of ane spurious bastard, promovit fra ane religious monk to erll and Lord," and of that "mischent unworthie traitour William Maitland, quhome from ane simple unworthie page, our darrest mother and me did nurrische and bring up to perfection," etc., and they, and those especially who had to do with Riccio's murder, are slumped together as "godless traitouris, commoun mutheraris and throtcutteris, quhome na prince, ye not the barbarous ethnik, the Turk,

[1] Published in Sir William Fraser's *Lennox*, ii. 437-47, and *Earls of Haddington*, 268-77.

for their perpetrat murthers culd pardoun or spair." Blanks are left for date, place and signature. Although what the Queen regarded as her insufferable wrong, in being made the scapegoat of her opponents in reference to the murder of her husband, was bound to fill her soul with furious bitterness and rage against every one of Moray's faction, the document was hardly of a kind that one who knew, so well as Mary did, the conventions of sovereign dignity and propriety, would be apt to choose as the fittest method of stating her case. As Mr. Lang has also pointed out,[1] Moray and Maitland were then on bad terms, Moray having, from the time of his return, debarred Maitland from his counsels.[2] If also the document was originally the direct composition of Mary, it must have been translated from the French, for Mary had no such easy and voluminous command of vituperative Scots as it displays. It is more than possible that its real begetter was, as Dr. Hay Fleming seems inclined to think,[3] the rascally Archbishop of St. Andrews. It may mainly represent the rampant hatred of the Hamiltons against Moray and Maitland, who seemed to them to have been the chief bafflers of their most ambitious hopes ; they would naturally suppose also that, by reason of her late experiences, the Queen would only be too happy to say amen to their most virulent epithets of hate and rage. That she ever signed any such document is, however, most unlikely—all the more that a proclamation actually issued in her name on May 5th,[4] as well as the band of her adherents on the 8th,[5] is couched in terms that, though sufficiently

[1] *History*, ii. 196.
[2] Teulet, *Relations*, ii. 355.
[3] *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 488.
[4] First published, *Ibid.*, pp. 512-13.
[5] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 403.

vigorous, in no way violate the conventional dignity of state documents.

But whatever Mary might propose to decide as to her demission of the crown, or as to the present dignity and future fortunes of the house of Hamilton, she was hardly in a position to give practical effect to her fiats. There were her brother, Moray, and his party to be reckoned with, and that party, notwithstanding the partial defection of Maitland, was never so strong and confident as it now was. Moreover the military leaders of the party—Moray, Morton, and Kirkcaldy of Grange—were soldiers of much experience and great ability. In the Queen's party, who were, besides, very much at sixes and sevens with one another, the only man of special talent was the untrustworthy Lord Herries, "the cunning horseleech, and the wisest of the whole faction," the chiefs of which were, in fact, "mostly fools." Argyll, chosen commander mainly because he had brought into the field more men than all those yet assembled by the other nobles, possessed some tincture of the ability so persistent in his descendants, but he had partly lost his political head through sheer jealousy of Lennox; and unhappily, also, being no more gifted than his descendant, the great Marquis, with the physical resolution so requisite in a soldier, he cut as woeful a figure in the battle now imminent as did that distinguished descendant in his campaigns against Montrose. The victory, which the Protestant leaders now gained, was entirely one of skill and resolution against superior numbers, badly and imprudently led, and finally confused by lack of direction from him who had been chosen their commander.

It so happened that the Regent was in Glasgow when,

on May 3rd, the alarming news reached him that the Queen had escaped and had reached Hamilton. As he had only his body guard with him, it was proposed that he should fall back on Stirling, to wait there until a general muster had been raised so as to crush the Queen with overwhelming numbers; but he discerned the need of the utmost promptness of action, since there might be England or France to be reckoned with, should Mary be permitted time to get external assistance. By remaining in Glasgow, the inhabitants of which were almost to a man on his side, he in a manner barred the Queen's road to Dumbarton, should she seek to retire thither without giving him battle, or attempt to take refuge in it in case of defeat. For some days, therefore, both sides were busy issuing summonses and proclamations, and bands of followers were hastening to join their respective standards. Kirkcaldy brought his harquebussiers from Edinburgh. Mar sent cannon from Stirling, and all the lairds in the district who were under his command hurried with their men to Glasgow. The summons reached Lord Hume in Berwickshire in time to permit him to arrive some days before the battle, with six hundred men, and Morton, Glencairn, Lindsay, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Semple, and Graham all hastened to the rendezvous with such followers as they could raise most speedily.

It was needful for Mary, whatever purpose she might have, ultimately, in view, to collect a powerful force, but as soon as it totalled 5,000 or 6,000, the march westwards was begun. Her main hope was probably to get to Dumbarton, and thence to France to arouse her relatives on her behalf. At any rate, she was averse to risk her cause wholly on this one battle, since, if it were lost, she had every chance of

From an old print.

GLASGOW.

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falling again into the hands of her brother, and, if it were won, she would still be the mere puppet of the Hamiltons. Had the Hamiltons not been as anxious to prevent her reaching Dumbarton as was the Regent, they need not have risked their cause on the issue of a single fight, fought, as regards position, at a disadvantage. Under the protection of a powerful body of horse she might at any time have been sent thither if a sufficient detour had been made; but the confidence begotten of superior numbers made the Hamiltons eager to risk a battle before the Regent's forces were further recruited. Should they succeed, the perdition of their hated enemy the Regent would probably be assured, and the Queen would be almost entirely at their disposal.

To the Queen's forces of 5,000 or 6,000 the Regent could oppose only 3,000 or 4,000. He lay on the Burgh Muir, keeping watch on his enemies' movements, and so soon as he saw that they were preparing to advance in his direction, mounted his hagbutters behind each of his horsemen and hurried them to occupy the short street running west and east at the entrance to the now defunct village of Langside, and the cottages and gardens on each side of the road, by which lay the march of the Queen's army. He himself, in command of the main battle and Morton in command of the rear, meanwhile crossed the river by a bridge and drew up on Langside Hill, so as to be ready to hamper the advance of his opponents by attacks on either flank. What mainly gave victory to him was the occupation of the village by the hagbutters, and the device of employing the experienced Kirkcaldy of Grange as a commander-in-chief is now employed, in watching the fortunes of the battle so as to know to the

minute when and where to reinforce and when and how to strike. And while generalship was supreme in the case of the Regent, unity of plan and intelligent co-operation with each other were all but lacking on the part of the Queen's commanders. Confident in numbers, they resolved to give the attack, and while it was given recklessly by one portion of her forces, it was not given at all by the bulk of them. Under the cover of artillery fire from Clancart Hill, the vanguard, consisting of the Hamiltons under Lord Claud, pressed on rapidly to storm the village, and were well supported by a charge of Border horsemen under Lord Herries against the rear of Moray's left wing ; but the main army under Argyll, on account of the confusion caused by the sudden illness of their leader, either from a fainting or epileptic fit, failed to back up the well-directed efforts of Herries and the Hamiltons. Though Herries' horsemen quickly drove in those of Moray, to which they were much superior in numbers, they could not press their advantage further, on account of the showers of arrows from Moray's bowmen; and the Argyll men were not at hand to lend them the support necessary to cause full disaster on the wings. Meanwhile Kirkcaldy, recognising the danger of the hagbutters, was hurrying his pikemen towards them from the flanks, since there was no immediate danger there. The Hamiltons had done all that was possible for brave men in their position to do ; but they could not long resist the full charge of Kirkcaldy's pikemen down the hill, deprived, as they were, of their supports and decimated by the cross fire of the hagbutters. They were, therefore, soon driven in wild confusion against the helpless Argyll men, who made no effort to turn the fortunes of the fight, but, with the characteristic promptitude of the Highlander

After a drawing by P. Sandby.

DUMBARTON CASTLE.

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of those days, when confronted unexpectedly with the full fury of a charge, broke away from it in headlong flight. Though the Regent, so soon as he saw that victory was his, did his utmost to stop the carnage, some six or seven score were killed outright, mostly Hamiltons, in their attempt to press through the village. More than 300 also were taken prisoners, including Lords Seton and Ross, Sir James Hamilton, the Masters of Montgomery and Cassilis, and the Sheriff of Ayr—the bulk of the prisoners, as of the dead and wounded, being Hamiltons. Many prisoners captured were, however, not brought in, for "father was against brother, and brother against son." On the Regent's side but one was killed, though many were hurt by the charge of Lord Herries, including Lord Hume severely in the leg, and Lord Ochiltree on the neck from a stroke of Lord Herries.[1]

The defeat of the Queen's forces was complete, but the victory seemed at first to be practically a fruitless one, since the Queen was still at large. Whither she had fled, no one, for a time, knew; and should she have got after all to Dumbarton, as was at first reported, the outlook for the Regent would not be much better than before the fight commenced. But luck, as usual, was against the Queen: by some inevitable necessity she was ever, it seems, compelled to take the wrong turning; and the turning which she now took was that which led to the doom awaiting her—after long years of hopeless captivity—at Fotheringay. Had she got to Dumbarton, she might have elected to go straight to France; and had she gone there, the next chapter of her life, however full it might have been of

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 407; see also Lord Herries' *Memoirs*, and A. M. Scott's *Battle of Langside* (1883).

strange adventures, could hardly have been so merely dreary and distressful as it was to become. Along with Lords Boyd, Fleming, the Master of Herries and a body guard of thirty horsemen, she had watched the fortunes of the fight, with feelings, we must suppose, very mixed and dubious. The headlong energy and zeal displayed by her in the round-a-bout raid, or when in company with Bothwell she faced the confederates at Carberry, was no longer in evidence. "Should the Hamiltons lose,"—so she must have asked herself—"shall I get to Dumbarton; and should they win, what will be my fate with the Hamiltons?" To marry Lord John she never, we must suppose, intended to consent; and next to her anxiety to avoid capture must have been her desire to be free from all Hamiltonian constraint. Entirely in their power, she was in a position, in reality, more dangerous than when in Lochleven Castle. Her choice may very well have been that the battle should be lost—provided she had a clear road to Dumbarton. It was lost, but it was lost so swiftly and completely that she got not there. She started thither just a few minutes too late. As soon as they saw that the day had gone against her, she and her escort turned westwards, but so hot was the pursuit that there was not time sufficient to enable them to take the boat that would have brought them to the castle. It was quickly evident indeed that they had no chance of escape except by an unexpected route, and the escort, having divided to delude the pursuers, the Queen, accompanied by only six followers, including the noblemen with her on the hill and the two Douglases, galloped for the wilds of the south-west. With characteristic hardiness, when a great effort was required of her, she plodded

steadily on over the moors, not calling a halt till the wearied steeds reached Sanquhar. Starting again at nightfall to avoid observation, she on the 15th reached Dundrennan—whence she sent a letter to Elizabeth intimating that, being chased by her rebellious subjects from her kingdom, she had no other help but in her sister sovereign's protection, whom she asked to do her the honour to receive her in England, in order that she might have a conference with her on her affairs. Though Herries, who had now reached her, offered to secure her safety in Galloway, until she found some other way of escape, or her friends could rally their forces, she would listen to no persuasion ; and so eager was she to get out of Scotland that, in company with some twenty attendants, including Lords Herries, Fleming and Claud Hamilton, she crossed the Solway on Sunday afternoon, the 16th, landing at Workington at seven o'clock. Next day she was brought by Richard Lowther to Cockermouth, and on the 18th to Carlisle Castle. As her "attire was very mean," and she had no change of clothes, he, judging that "her highnes treasure dyd not much surmounte the furnyture of hir robes," not only ordered her charges at Cockermouth to be defrayed, but provided geldings "to convey herself and train." [1]

It is obvious to ask, Why did Mary rush so heedlessly to place herself utterly in Elizabeth's power? The question is in truth more easily asked than answered, though it may be answered after a fashion by asking: Why did Mary marry Darnley? Why did she rouse the universal jealousy of the nobles by the honours she heaped on Riccio? Why did she enterprise with Riccio's

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 410.

guidance a Catholic conquest of Britain? Why did she not only further the Darnley murder plot, but allow herself to get hopelessly entangled in it? Why did she stake her all, sparing neither "honour, conscience, hazard nor greatness"—on her passion for Bothwell? And why permitted she him to carry her to his castle of Dunbar, and to lead her afterwards to a Protestant marriage altar? Why indeed, except that she was a Stewart of the Stewarts—perhaps even, so far as concerned vigour and energy, mental and physical, the most remarkable of that peculiar royal race. Submissive though she had often been to what was hard and unpleasant, disciplined though she was from infancy to subordinate reality to convention, there was yet no holding of her once she had made up her mind to have her own way. She had the fatal Stewart endowment of a colossal royal egotism, entirely different from the egotism of Elizabeth—an egotism a constituent part of which, unlike any part of Elizabeth's, was sincere affection and much generosity towards her friends and dependants, but which was capable of such a concentration on an ambitious or passionate purpose that to her the obstacles in the way of its accomplishment hardly seemed to have an existence.

Her one purpose now was restoration to her throne; and the strength of her purpose made her quite blind to the possible danger of a rash endeavour to move Elizabeth, by appearing before her in the guise of a fugitive suppliant. Besides, Lord Claud Hamilton had speeded south to represent the interests of his family: this was perhaps all that was needed to turn irrevocably the scale of her decision not again to venture northwards; it brought back to her only too vividly her uneasiness and distrust, as she found

After the picture in the Duke of Abercorn's collection.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON,
Afterwards Lord Paisley.

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the Hamilton bonds tightening ever more closely round her; and she resolved, come what may, that they should be snapped. Her only choice, as it happened, was between the Hamilton bonds and those of Elizabeth, whatever they might turn out to be. And she might very well come to convince herself, that should Elizabeth find it impossible to promote her restoration to her throne, she would at least treat her with the consideration due to a sister sovereign in distress. Since the time Mary was sent to Lochleven, Elizabeth had not only been effusive in her sympathy, but had apparently done her utmost, both to save her life and prevent her deprivation of her sovereignty, which indeed she professed to view with horror, as not merely unjustifiable but sacrilegious. Being direct and straightforward herself even in the very midst of her conspiracies, and hating to deceive any one who trusted in her, Mary had no sufficient notion of the twists and convolutions of Elizabeth's idiosyncrasy. She was also perhaps too oblivious of the fact that Elizabeth, however loudly she had protested against her dethronement and imprisonment, had not ventured to do anything of a positive kind on her behalf. True it was that the sympathies of Elizabeth, on account of convictions as to the sacred absolutism of sovereignty, were in a manner with her rather than with the Protestant lords. Indeed Elizabeth had no kind of sympathy with the Protestant lords; they were nothing more to her than a political convenience; but at the same time her sympathy with Mary was strictly official and in no sense personal; on the contrary, apart from the question of conduct on the part of Mary so astoundingly foolish, if not criminal, they were personally divided by an irreconcilable rivalry.

After Mary's escape from Lochleven, Elizabeth had sent Leighton with her warmest congratulations, and apparently with instructions to do his best to secure her restoration to her throne,[1] but before Leighton's arrival Mary had been defeated at Langside and was already in England. Elizabeth's motives, in proposing to take her part, could be those only of mere duty or sheer necessity: it gave her no personal pleasure to do so, but the reverse. So long as Mary remained in Scotland, Mary might be able to appeal to Elizabeth's double motives of duty and necessity; for Elizabeth, in the fear that Mary might obtain assistance from France or Spain, might be compelled to help her to patch up in some way her quarrel with the Lords. So far as concerned Elizabeth, the only result of Mary's flight to England was (1) to, in a manner, reverse the motives of necessity, which now suggested Mary's detention in England, and (2) greatly to modify the motives of duty through the reversal of the motives of necessity, Elizabeth reconciling their modification to her conscience, and at the same time immensely gratifying her own sovereign pride, by seizing this providential opportunity for the exercise of the lapsed, if not wholly fictitious, functions of the Scottish overlordship.

The process by which Elizabeth developed her purpose was gradual and tentative, and distinguished, even more than usual, by cynical duplicity, masked by sympathetic pretence. On May 20th, orders of the Council were sent to Lowther, in the Queen's name, to use the Scottish Queen and her company honourably, as the Earl of Northumberland should appoint; but it was significantly added, "let

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 409.

none of them escape."[1] Being so instructed, Lowther declined, notwithstanding a battery of oaths and threatenings from Northumberland, to deliver Mary up to him. Northumberland had proposed to take her to Alnwick Castle, and had he done so, who could tell what might have happened, though it must be said for Mary that while to many gentlemen of "diverse counties," who had called on her, she had been expounding her case against the Scottish lords with great cleverness and eloquence,[2] she had uttered no word to incite any one to disloyalty to Elizabeth, whom, on the contrary, she was expecting to take her part.

However, on May 25th, Northumberland was desired by Sir Francis Knollys, the vice-chamberlain, not to meddle with Mary's removal until his arrival; and in fact it was now decided that Mary should remain meanwhile at Carlisle under the charge of Knollys and Lord Scrope, the warden.[3] Mary had, on May 18th, sent a second letter to Elizabeth from Workington, hoping that Elizabeth would not only receive her under her protection, but co-operate with other princes to aid her in her quarrel.[4] On the arrival of Scrope and Knollys, on May 28th, they were received by Mary in her chamber of presence; and they conveyed to her Elizabeth's congratulations on her escape and her condolences on her "lamentable misadventure and inconvenient arrival." They found her to have "an eloquent tongue and discreet head," and it seemed to them by her doings that she had "stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereto." But on taking them for greater privacy into her bedchamber, she "fell into some passion with the tears in her eyes," complaining that Elizabeth did not answer her expectations

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 411.
[2] *Ibid.*, 417.
[3] *Ibid.*, 411-13.
[4] Labanoff, ii. 71-2.

to admit her forthwith to her presence.[1] It was thus Mary's ingenuous expectation that Elizabeth, out of womanly sympathy for her sister sovereign in distress, would permit her in person to state her case to her. But since Elizabeth, to her unfeigned and grievous surprise, had not done so, she now explained to her, in a letter, that her main reason for coming to England was to complain to her, in person, and to expose the calumnies of the ingrates, whom at Elizabeth's request, she had recalled from England, when they had been banished for their crimes against her. She therefore now proposed to send to her Lord Herries to explain to her all matters about which she was in doubt, and also Lord Fleming to France to thank the King for his good offices ; and she hoped that if Elizabeth, for any reason, deemed it better not to receive her in person, she would at least permit her to ask assistance of her other allies.[2] Whether Elizabeth, as Guzman [3] and de la Forrest[4] assert, desired, in opposition to the Council, to treat Mary as a royal guest, and not as a fugitive, the assurance of de la Forrest that Mary would be admitted into Elizabeth's presence turned out to be false. His surmise that if Mary were, the two Queens would not remain for eight days on friendly terms with each other, was not to be put to the test ; and it may be that Elizabeth was only having recourse to one of her characteristic pretences, in order, on the one hand, to lead Mary to continue to trust in her good intentions, and, on the other hand, to induce France and Spain to refrain meanwhile from any action on Mary's behalf. She was thus able, on June 8th, to assure Mary that there was " no creature living " more anxious to lend

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 416.
[2] *Ibid.*, 415.
[3] *Spanish State Papers*, 1568-79, p. 36.
[4] Teulet, ii. 369.

a sympathetic ear to Mary's tale of distress than she was. But much as her personal interest in Mary inclined her to do so, she could never be careless of her own reputation [a broad hint that Mary had been too careless of hers] ; and then, calmly assuming that Mary had put into her hands the "handling of this business," she assured Mary that she would be as careful of Mary's "life and honour" as Mary herself could be ; and although she could not receive her before her justification, it would be one of "her highest worldly pleasures" to receive her, once she was acquitted of this "crime"—acquitted, that is to say, by judges whom Elizabeth would appoint virtually to try a Scottish sovereign.[1]

On the same date Elizabeth wrote an accusatory letter to Moray on his "very strange" doings against a sovereign prince, who was requiring her aid as her next cousin and neighbour, and "is," said Elizabeth, "content to commit the ordering of her cause to us" [for Elizabeth was already taking for granted what Mary was "content" to do] ; but expressing her willingness to accept of his offer to "declare" to her his "whole doings," on condition that, meanwhile, he suspended all further proceedings against Mary's supporters. Thus Elizabeth was arrogating to herself the authority to act as supreme judge in a dispute between Mary and her subjects. It may be said that she was justified in doing so, since Mary was appealing to her for help ; but Mary was declining help on Elizabeth's terms, so that was the end of the matter so far as concerned her, while Moray wished nothing more than to be let alone. Unless on the supposition of an over-lordship, which the Scots denied, Elizabeth had no title to interfere

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 426.

in the internal affairs of Scotland. Still, Scotland being very much at the mercy of one or other of the great powers, and owing its independence mainly to the mutual jealousy of France, England and Spain, was liable to be interfered with by one of the great powers whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself for doing so; and Moray was only too well aware of the hopelessness of his condition, should Elizabeth determine to help his sister; while Elizabeth was also his main protection against the interference of France. On the other hand, he must have suspected that notwithstanding Elizabeth's eloquent rehearsal of Mary's apparent wrongs, she was nowise so sorrowful at her humiliation as she pretended to be; and in any case, he had hardly other option than to humour, so far as he reasonably could, the woman of whose incalculable peculiarities he had, already, had only too bitter experience. He therefore replied that he would be loath to accuse "the queene moder of the King our soverane, and syne to enter in qualification with her," and he wished to know what Elizabeth intended to do supposing he proved his case—the only satisfactory result to him being of course that, whatever happened to Mary, matters in Scotland should remain in *statu quo*; and he further proposed that the judges appointed to try Mary's case should read the copies—which his servant, John Wood, then had in his possession—of Mary's letters to Bothwell, and let him know whether, if it were shown that "the principal agreed with the copy," the case against Mary would be sufficiently proved.[1] Moray's purpose evidently was to convince Elizabeth that no set trial of the case was needed; but whether or not, he could not be a party to

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 441-2.

a trial unless he had some kind of assurance that its result would be determined by evidence and not by Elizabeth's whim.

Of the nature of the problem with which Elizabeth had to deal, one aspect was very vividly presented to Cecil by Knollys. "This ladie and prynces," he wrote of Mary, "is a notable woman; she semethe to regard no ceremonious honor besyde the acknolegyng of hyr estate regalle: she shoethe a disposition to speake motche, to be bold, to be plesant, and to be very famylyare. She shoethe a great desyer to be avenged of hyr enymyes, she shoethe a redines to expone hyr selffe to all perylls in hoope off victorie, she delytethe motche to here of hardiness and valiancye, comendyng by name all approved hardye men of hyr cuntrye, althoe they be hyr enemyes, and she concealithe no cowardnes even in hyr frendes. The thynge that moste she thirstethe after is victorye, and it semeth to be indifferent to hyr to have hyr enemies demynysshed eyther by the sword of hyr frendes, or by the liberall promyses and rewardes of hyr purse, or by devysyon and qwarylls raised amongst theym selffes: so that for victories sake payne and parylle semethe plesant unto hyr: and in respect off victorie, welthe and all things semethe to hyr contemptible and vyle. Nowe what is to be done with sotche a ladie and pryncesse, or whether sotche a pryncesse and ladie be to be norysshed in one's bosome? or whether it be good to halte and disembyll with sotche a ladye, I referr to your judgement."[1]

Meanwhile Elizabeth's letter could only have confirmed Mary's worst suspicions as to Elizabeth's intentions, which must also have been increased rather than lessened

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 428.

by the tactless efforts of Middlemore, Elizabeth's messenger, to put a favourable construction on them: "She had," she said, "no other judge than God, neither none could take upon them to judge of her: she knew her degree of estate well enough. Marry! indeed, of her own will and according to the good trust she reposed in the Queen's majesty she offered to make her judge of her cause. 'But how,' sayeth she, 'can that be, when the Queen my sister will not suffer me to come at her?'" And then she made a most striking declaration: "I would and did mean to have uttered such matter unto her, as I should have done to no other, nor never yet did to any." This could only mean an intention to expound fully to Elizabeth the whole matter of the Darnley murder—her own actual share in it, but also the share in it of the lords who were now her accusers, and thus to expose the whole sham of her prosecution for it. If Elizabeth did not believe her statements, then let Elizabeth, she said, "send for Lethington and Morton, "two of the wisest and ablest," to say anything against her, and let them in Elizabeth's presence make their accusation so that Elizabeth might hear her own purgation." Then on being shown her brother Moray's letter, she curtly remarked that it would seem Elizabeth had no objection that he, her rebel, should come into her presence, and contemptuously dismissed the subject with the pronouncement that she was a princess and they were but subjects, and yet traitors, so that there was no equality between her and them to make them parties against her. The likelihood is that had Mary been admitted into Elizabeth's presence she would—besides expounding the outs and ins of the Darnley murder as she could not do in writing

or by messenger—at the long last, and on condition of being restored to her throne, have agreed to admit the legitimacy of Elizabeth's title. But what Mary in her fallen condition, and now that she was in Elizabeth's hands, might or might not admit, was to Elizabeth a matter of minor moment ; what to Elizabeth was of chief moment was to have Scotland, if she could, entirely under her thumb.

Middlemore had also another proposal to make to Mary, which he said he "keept in store to make a pleasant parting though it did not so fall out."[1] This pleasant surprise was that Elizabeth meant shortly to bring Mary nearer to her, where she would, so Middlemore put it, have more pleasure and liberty and be utterly out of danger of her enemies, etc. But tactfully as Middlemore supposed he had broached the proposal, he blundered woefully in representing it as a decision of Elizabeth, not a mere suggestion, or recommendation, or wish. Quick as thought, Mary therefore asked whether she was to go as a prisoner, or at "her own free choice." That she and Middlemore should then have had "a great conflict" is in no way surprising. But since Mary could not gainsay Elizabeth's wishes, she gradually saw the advisability of submitting to them as gracefully as the case would permit her to do. "Alas," she said, "it is a small piece of comfort to me (nay rather is it a hurt to me) to be removed hence, and not to be brought to the Queen my good sister ; but now I am in her hands, and she may dispose of me as she will." On June 13th, Mary also sent to Elizabeth a protest against Elizabeth's treatment

[1] Middlemore's Letter of June 14th in *Scottish Papers*, ii. 431–5 ; and Anderson, iv. 81–7.

of her, in which she declared that while, of her own free will, she had purposed to make Elizabeth the arbiter in her case, she would rather die than submit to the humiliation of entering into "a form of process against her subjects."[1]

Mary's belief in the sincerity of Elizabeth's professions of goodwill could hardly have been strengthened by the kind of provision Elizabeth had been making for her comfort. Having learned from Mary's Workington letter that she had arrived in England in possession of nothing except the clothes she had made her journey in, and from Lowther that her attire "was very mean," Elizabeth, apparently to match this meanness, sent her a pair of well-worn shifts, two pieces of black velvet and two pairs of shoes.[2] Knollys had been suggesting to Cecil "a clothe of state," and when he received Elizabeth's beggarly gift, he was seemingly too dumbfounded to make mention to Cecil of the circumstance. He had, of course, no option but to tender it to Mary ; but on being reminded by Cecil that he had not mentioned to him its receipt, or how Mary had received it, he satisfied him that Mary was not transported with gratitude ; she received it with eloquent silence, even although he had endeavoured to smooth over the insult by saying "that it was no present from her highness but such necessary things as one of her maids for lightness of carriage chose out." As Mary listened to this very lame apology, also in scornful silence, he then, for very shame, was constrained to add that the maid—the maid of his own imagination—had mistaken his own instructions and only sent such things as a servant

[1] *Labanoff*, ii. 96–100.

[2] De Silva, June 27th, quoted by Froude, cab. ed., viii. 353.

like herself required ; upon which Mary "answered courteous and took it in good part"[1] : with her quick discernment she must have seen how utterly ashamed Knollys was at being the medium of so mean an insult.

But notwithstanding that Mary by her visit to England had as yet gained from Elizabeth nothing more satisfactory than promises that were little better than veiled insults, and the treatment of a prisoner who had already been tried and found guilty, she did not allow her uncertainties as to the future to interfere with her characteristic partiality for "joyousitie" so far as circumstances would permit her to practise it. She spent several afternoons witnessing football matches on Carlisle green, played by some twenty of her retinue before her for two hours "very strongly, nimbly, and skilfully without foul play," and once she went out hare hunting, on which occasion, however, she and her retinue galloped so fast and were so well horsed, that Knollys discerned that such sport might easily be made a pretext for ensuring her escape into Scotland, and he determined that the experiment should not be repeated.[2] Later, when Montmorin, the envoy of Charles IX., visited her towards the end of June, he found her occupying a gloomy room lighted by only one barred casement, and entered by three other rooms, all guarded and occupied by hagbutters. Her servants and domestics, except three women in attendance on her, slept outside the castle. She was then not allowed to walk further than the church in the town, about a hundred hagbutters accompanying her. No priests were permitted access to her : the reply of Scrope to

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 430.

[2] *Ibid.*, 436.

her request for a priest to say Mass, was that there was not a priest in England.[1] According to Knollys the Queen's windows looked north, and if the bars had been filed she could have been let down with "a plain ground before her to Scotland"; but an old postern door outside, which had been dammed up with earth, was opened so that an unseen guard could be placed to watch the window.[2] By the end of June Mary was gratified by the arrival of some of her old domestics and attendants, including especially Mary Seton—the only one of the four Marys who now remained unmarried. In high good humour at the change Mary Seton's art made in her appearance, notwithstanding that none of her finery had arrived, the Queen praised her to Knollys as the best busker of a woman's hair to be seen in any country; "and," said the admiring Knollys, "yesterday and this daye she dyd sett sotche a curled heare uppoun the Quene that was said to be a perewyke, that shoed very delycately."[3] All this time, the Queen had apparently nothing but the dress she had travelled in over the Galloway muirs, or what may have been contrived for her from Elizabeth's two famous pieces of black velvet, but since nothing more, seemingly, was to expected from Elizabeth's generosity, Knollys at her request had sent a messenger to Moray to get her effects sent on from Lochleven.

On July 7th there therefore arrived at Carlisle three coffers of apparel, but only one gown and that of taffeta, the rest being "but cloaks and coverings for saddles and sleaves and partlettes, and qweyffes and such

[1] Mignet's *Mary Queen of Scots* (1887), p. 235.

[2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 458. [3] *Ibid.*, 453.

From a photo published in "Scottish Portraits," by permission of Mr. F. T. Hay and Messrs. T. C. & E. C. Jack.

GEORGE, FIFTH LORD SETON, AND HIS FAMILY.
From the picture at Duns Castle.

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like trinkets,"[1] the fact probably being that Moray had sent them with a view mainly of providing for her journey to Bolton. Notwithstanding Mary's protest about being brought to Bolton—which she said she could not esteem as a favour, but the contrary, and could obey only as a thing forced[2]—she began her journey thither on July 13th, Knollys stating that "after she dyd see that nether hyr stowte thretenyngs, nor hyr exclamations not hyr lamentations, cowld disswade from our preparation and constant semying to have awthoretie and determynatyon to remove hyr (althoe we never sayd expressly that we had awthoretie or intent to remove her *nolens volens*)," she "lyke a very wyse woman" resolved to make the best of it and sought to understand whether she might have some of her noblemen sent to Scotland to confer with her party there, and some of her party there sent to Bolton to confer with herself. About this Knollys promised to do his best to satisfy her. The house at Bolton, where she arrived on the 15th, Knollys describes as very strong, very fair and stately, after the old manner of building, and the highest-walled house he had seen.[3] Shortly after her arrival she had the pleasure of receiving the remainder of her apparel, along with a letter from Moray which moved her to say to Knollys "that he wold doe well ynoughe of his owne nature, saving that he is somewhat pufte upp by others and made to desirous of government."[4]

Meanwhile, Elizabeth, having now got Mary fairly into her parlour, was busily twisting her fatal webs around her. As yet, be it remembered, all that was against

[1] Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 288. [2] Labanoff, ii. 133; *Scottish Papers*, ii. 452.
[3] *Scottish Papers*, ii., 457. [4] *Ibid.*, 462.

Mary's reputation was her marriage to Bothwell: about the Casket Letters the Lords, in view of Mary's demission, had preferred to say nothing more than was necessary as a formal justification of their proceedings; and there had of course been no legal trial of the case. What Elizabeth was now mainly bent on was to induce both parties to submit their case to her judicial tribunal. And in regard to this proposal, the position of Moray and his party differed widely from that of their deposed Queen. It was of supreme importance to them, both that the Queen of Scots should receive no countenance or help from Elizabeth, and that a definite and cordial understanding should be arrived at between them and Elizabeth as to how she was to be disposed of. This could hardly be effected unless Elizabeth or her commissioners were fully informed of the cardinal facts of the case, so far as they directly bore on the part played by Mary in the murder of her husband; and, with this important limitation, Moray and the lords had no objection to lay their proofs before Elizabeth. On the other hand, Mary's purpose was to state her case simply to Elizabeth as a friend and sister sovereign, from whom she desired aid against her rebellious subjects; in order to obtain that aid she was apparently prepared to make known to Elizabeth the actual facts; but if they were to be stated, she insisted that they should be stated in full, her supposition being that if she were permitted to state them privately to Elizabeth, Elizabeth would discover that her opponents were living in a glass house. If Elizabeth declined to listen to her private explanations or to help her, then Elizabeth, she maintained, had nothing more to do with the matter. Mary's contention, according to strict justice, could not be gainsaid. But (1) the main

question with Elizabeth was one of expediency; (2) Mary did not occupy the position of a friendly neighbour sovereign, for she claimed, in opposition to Elizabeth, to be *de jure* Queen of England; and (3) the foreign assistance which Mary, in lack of Elizabeth's assistance, would seek to have recourse to, might imperil the interests of Elizabeth and England. Elizabeth therefore, in her own interests, was anxious herself to decide the case between Mary and the lords; but, for the above reasons, it was hardly likely she would, even if she could, decide entirely in Mary's favour. Mary also knew that according to the evidence it could not be so decided; her only consolation was that her opponents were more or less compromised; and her only hope was that, on being brought face to face with her, they would agree to some arrangement that would deliver her from the doom of perpetual detention either in England or Scotland.

On the other hand, Elizabeth's chief aim was to get her rival rendered as innocuous as possible. She regarded her case not from the point of view of guilt or innocence, but simply from that of its bearing on her own interests. She wished to have it examined because she believed Mary to be guilty; in all likelihood Cecil had seen the letters which were in Wood's hands; but at any rate, the attitude of Moray must have convinced Elizabeth that he had a very strong case; and that being so, she was anxious that if her rival were not, as she could hardly be, by any English tribunal, found technically guilty, her reputation might be so damaged that she would cease to be regarded, even by many of the keenest of the Catholics, as a religious champion. The whole question as to how Mary was to be dealt with turned, as is shown in a memorial

by Cecil,[1] on what course would be the least dangerous to England. There were dangers manifest and manifold if she were permitted to pass to France, dangers of a very similar kind if she returned "to rule as before in Scotland"; but there were also dangers if she remained—that is, were detained—in England; and these would be greatly diminished if Elizabeth could secure a kind of semi-publicity to an authentic history of her misdoings. Elizabeth's chief aim, therefore, was to get the whole story told before a representative commission of English nobles, including, as Froude states, the Catholic nobles who had "made themselves most conspicuous as the advocates of the Queen of Scots"; and she did not mind though Mary were able to make out that her brother and his friends were not much better than Mary was herself. The commission before which the story would be told would not be biassed on one side or another, but Elizabeth was not specially concerned about this; what she mainly desired was that the Catholics should be made fully acquainted with Mary's connection with the Darnley murder. In order to entice both parties to place their case in her hands, she proposed that the commission should be regarded not as a tribunal, but as a friendly court of arbitration: (1) wishing agreement between them, she desired to know what each had to say for themselves; (2) she did not mean "so to deal as to condemn the Queen of Scots or to allow any faults that shall appear to be in her," but merely to learn the particulars of the dispute so as to promote an understanding between her and the lords; and (3)—this was Elizabeth's main point—she could not arbitrate unless the whole case were fully stated.[2]

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 418. [2] *Ibid.*, 448.

In order to bring Mary to agree to arbitration, Elizabeth sought to represent to her, through Lord Herries, (1) that her intentions were entirely friendly; (2) that even if the lords could allege some reasons for deposing her, Elizabeth proposed to restore her to her "seat royal," on condition that her "Lords and subjects should continue in their state and dignity" [a somewhat indefinite provision]; but that if (3) they could not "alledge any reason of their doings," then Elizabeth would guarantee her restoration, and by force if necessary. All this was, however, conditional, (1) on her renunciation of her title to the throne of England, (2) on her leaving the league of France and entering into a league with England, and (3) on her abandoning the Mass, and "receiving the common prayer after the manner of England."[1] In order that she might be in a position to await developments, Mary made no demur to these proposals, and even received an English chaplain into her service, to whose denunciations of Papistry and all its works she listened "with attentive and contented ears." To Moray Elizabeth, however, gave a somewhat different account of her intentions. He was assured in very plain phraseology, that if his sister were found to be guilty of or participant in the murder, Elizabeth would consider otherwise of her case than to "satisfy her desire in the restitution of hir to the government of that kingdom."[2]

I do not propose to enter into detailed consideration of the York, Westminster, and Hampton Court proceedings. Their unfair character, as respects Mary, has lately been amply dealt with by Mr. Lang;[3] but this more concerns

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 465–6. [2] *Ibid.*, 509.
[3] *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, revised ed., 1904.

the reputation of Elizabeth than of Mary. It so happens that the question of the unfairness of those proceedings has, in the light of evidence now available, but a secondary connection either with the question of Mary's guilt, or the authenticity of the Casket Letters. The chief impression we gather from the proceedings is the desire of both parties in the dispute to avoid a full investigation into the truth about the murder; and the absorbing anxiety of Elizabeth that the case against Mary should be fully disclosed. It was Elizabeth's purpose to discredit her rival—a purpose further fed by the reports of Knollys of the talk of Mary, and by an inkling of the Norfolk intrigue—that baffled attempts at a compromise. As Moray's main aim was to retain the regency, he made no objections to a proposal—which was the joint production of Maitland and Norfolk—that Mary should confirm her abdication, and remain in England with a pension from Scotland, in addition to her allowance from France. On the advice of Maitland and Norfolk, Mary—who, after Maitland had secretly shown her a copy of the letters, had written to Maitland "to stay the rigorous accusations" of her brother—agreed to this arrangement: and Moray, therefore, in answer to his sister's accusation of rebellion, avoided formally accusing her of the murder, and excused his action against her, simply on the ground of her marriage to Bothwell.[1] In order, however, so far to satisfy Elizabeth, he showed the letters privately to the commissioners; but Norfolk now advised Mary not to demit the crown[2]: he had apparently hopes, since a public accusation had been avoided,

[1] Anderson, ii., part 2, pp. 64–70.

[2] Mr. Lang (*Mystery*, pp. 295–6) supposes that Maitland shook Norfolk's belief in the genuineness of the Casket Letters; but this is but a theory.

From the picture in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk.

THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK.

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that this kind of compromise might not be necessary. But the designs of Norfolk were now interfered with by Elizabeth, who accused him of an intention to marry the Queen of Scots ; and she also threatened Moray to support the regency of Châtelherault, unless Moray proceeded to a full statement of his case against his sister before the commission, now transferred to Westminster. This threat would have mattered nothing to Moray, had his sister not now resiled from her compromise, and had he not dreaded the results of the Norfolk intrigue. He and Maitland—though they kept up an appearance of friendliness—were now working at cross purposes. With his usual deftness in veiling his intentions, Moray gave no sign of any desire to thwart Maitland, though he must have deemed the Norfolk marriage proposal suggestive of irreparable calamity both to himself and to Protestantism, at least in its precise form. He was thus quite inclined, for sufficient reasons of his own, to be moved by Elizabeth's threats, provided he had a guarantee that, should he make out a sufficient case against his sister, she should either be delivered up to him, or detained in England, so that his regency should not be endangered.[1] On the other hand, Elizabeth sought to entice Mary to agree to the further proposed proceedings, by taking measures that Mary's friends should not "gather any doubt of the success of her cause, but imagine this conference principally meant how her restitution may be devised."[2]

Mary, however,—who must have perfectly understood the drift of Elizabeth's purpose—now took up the attitude of being prepared to offer terms to her disobedient subjects : and should the enquiry be made to assume the form of

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 536-8. [2] *Ibid.*, 533.

an accusation against her, her commissioners were to insist that she should be allowed to appear and answer it in person : if this were not granted they were to break off negotiations.

At the conference, which met at Westminster on November 25th, Moray asked that, before he should make his "eik" to the charges against his sister—that is, in addition to resting his case on her marriage to Bothwell, should reveal her direct connection with the murder—Elizabeth should give him an assurance under her own hand that she would, after the evidence was produced, pronounce a definite judgment. To this Cecil replied that sufficient assurance had already been given as to Elizabeth's course of action ; and while Moray appeared to hesitate to commit himself, the Bishop of Orkney, snatching the paper from John Wood, placed it before the commissioners, amidst general laughter ; though Maitland, on coming in, whispered to Moray that he had shamed himself.[1] Moray having given in his "eik," Lennox was, on the 29th, permitted to appear before the commission as an applicant for justice on account of the murder of his son, and certain evidence prepared by him was accepted. The commission was thus suddenly transformed into a court of justice, if not for the trial of the Queen of Scots, at least for taking precognitions for a trial ; and, after vain attempts of Mary's commissioners to stay the proceedings by protests, as well as proposals for a compromise, Elizabeth succeeded in gaining her end—the full revelation of the case against Mary. On December 16th, some of the chief nobles were further summoned to meet the Privy Council at Hampton Court, where the whole evidence was read over and con-

[1] Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, pp. 210–12.

sidered, and the conclusion was arrived at that, "in view of these vehement allegations and presumptions," Elizabeth could not, "without manifest blemish of her own honour in the sight of the world, agree to have the same Queen to come into her presence, until the said horrible crimes may be, by some just and reasonable answer, avoided and removed from her."[1]

On learning of the production of the evidence against her, Mary instructed her commissioners to demand copies, upon which Elizabeth, while promising to take her request into consideration, suggested an arrangement between her and her brother on condition of her resignation of the crown. But this did not, now, in any way suit Mary. The worst had been done against her: her aim now was to do her worst against Elizabeth. The resignation of her sovereignty would be a mere manifestation of her guilt, and would only crown Elizabeth's proceedings with triumph; it might ruin the prospects both of the Norfolk marriage and of other devices about which she was already busy. Her reply therefore was: "As to my demission of my crown, speak to me no more of that, for, rather than consent to this, I am deliberately prepared to die, and the last words I shall utter in life shall be those of a Queen of Scotland."[2]

Having now gained her purpose of besmirching Mary, Elizabeth proposed that no definite decision should be given. She was thus able to pose as her rival's protector. All further negotiations and discussion were therefore terminated by the indecisive and indeed quite negative declaration, that nothing had been adduced against Moray or his adherents "that might impair their honour or allegiance," and nothing had been "sufficiently proven

[1] Anderson, iv., part 2, p. 178. [2] Labanoff, ii. 274.

or shown by them against the Queen their sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of her good sister for anything yet seen." To the English Council, Elizabeth also expressed her willingness to show Mary the evidence, but if she did, then Mary must "make answer without any cavillation for lack of her admittance to the presence of her Majesty or such like"; and by her answer "it shall be proved either innocent or culpable of the horrible crymes, whereof she is as yet accused, and not convynced; and if she shuld not by hir answer prove hirself innocent, than of necessite, the Quenes Majesty can never with hir honor show hir any favor."[1] Mary did not accept these conditions; and thus the impression was produced that she was unable to clear herself; while Elizabeth was delivered from the necessity either of assisting her or allowing her to obtain assistance from others. Nothing was done to interfere with Moray's regency, but Elizabeth professed to be ready to do her best to have Mary's case ended, for "her quietness and honour," whatever that might mean.

On January 20th, Mary was informed by Elizabeth that learning from her commissioners that she disliked Bolton, she had prepared for her another place "more honourable and agreeable" for her.[2] This Elizabeth meant as a delicate way of informing her that she had made arrangements of a more than temporary character for her detention in England. Scrope and Knollys had other duties than to attend on her; and, besides, it was desirable to sever her connection with Lady Scrope, who was the sister of Norfolk; and to lessen the danger of intrigues with the northern earls. On February 5th, after a very unpleasant journey, she therefore

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 601. [2] *Ibid.*, 605.

arrived at Tutbury Castle, Staffordshire, to be under the guardianship of its owner, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, as favouring Mary's succession, was selected by Elizabeth as evidence to Mary that she was, as she said, taking care of her "causes," and would do the best she could to advance her interests.[1] The castle had been excellently furnished for Mary's reception, and otherwise much was done to promote her comfort; but so far from being "honourable and agreeable," it was draughty, dilapidated, damp and cold, and greatly lacking even in the primitive sanitary arrangements of the period. On Shrewsbury's pointing this out to Elizabeth, leave was, however, given to transfer her, not, as Shrewsbury proposed, to his principal residence of Chatsworth, but to Wingfield. From the time she went to Bolton she had household attendants—French and Scots—of her own, and though after her arrival at Tutbury they had been reduced to thirty, this must have been amply sufficient for her needs. Leave was also granted to the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and others of her commissioners to have access to her; and she was permitted to have attached to her person such friends and advisers as she specially desired, on reporting their names. She had a good stud of horses, and no restraint was put upon her outdoor amusements, except that elaborate precautions were taken to prevent her escape.

It was not to be expected that Mary could cherish any feeling but that of bitter and scornful contempt for Elizabeth's professions of devotion to her best welfare: she knew perfectly that Elizabeth's main aim was to render her as politically helpless as she could. Moreover, while Elizabeth had wounded her to the quick by her

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 616.

deliberate endeavours to stir up the Darnley and Bothwell cesspool, she had by the manifest unfairness of her procedure aroused the sympathy towards Mary of many Catholics, whom her marriage to Bothwell had so puzzled and offended ; while the indecisive nature of the conclusion was interpreted by them as practically a vindication. Mary was thus enabled to commence the pose, which she more and more affected, the longer her imprisonment continued—the pose of the Catholic martyr, a pose which gradually assumed, to herself, a certain aspect of reality.

The Catholic influences, from which she had in a manner broken away during the period of the Bothwell infatuation, resumed again their full sway, and with them returned the old grandiloquent political ambitions, rendered keener and more absorbing by the desperate nature of her fortunes. She became in a manner *dévote*, *dévote* as a woman "with a past" often becomes, but not *dévote* as one who had renounced the world—only as one whose worldly disasters made her the sworn foe of Protestantism and all its works, and who meant to atone for her past unfaithfulness to Catholicism by triumphing along with it over her Protestant enemies.

Whatever Mary might pretend, any reconciliation with Elizabeth or her brother was an impossibility, and this, whatever they might pretend, both Elizabeth and her brother were perfectly aware of. Indeed while Elizabeth, without Mary's leave and actually in the face of her protests, was busily engaged in the comic pretence of setting Mary's house in order, by the method of exhibiting her frailties to some of the chief English nobles in the conferences at Westminster and Hampton Court, Mary was already, by the aid of her commissioners, busy fomenting insurrection

against her rival, and so soon as January 8th, was sending a message to de Spes, the Spanish ambassador, to the effect that if his master would help her, she would be Queen of England in three months, and Mass would be said all over the country.[1] But Philip, though quite as devoted to the Mass as the Scottish Queen, was also as devoted to his own royal interests as Mary was to hers; and he had not as yet made up his mind, and indeed never could quite do so, that it was his interest to place Mary on the English throne. Had help from Philip been immediately obtainable, the northern earls proposed to rise on Mary's behalf and set her free, so that she might be at Philip's disposal as to what suitor she should marry—the preference being for Don John of Austria. So late as June 15th, Lord Dacre informed Philip that as soon as it pleased him to send an army, 15,000 select troops would be at his service;[2] but since Philip could not be brought to any definite resolve, the conspiracy became fused with the Norfolk marriage scheme, which it greatly modified.

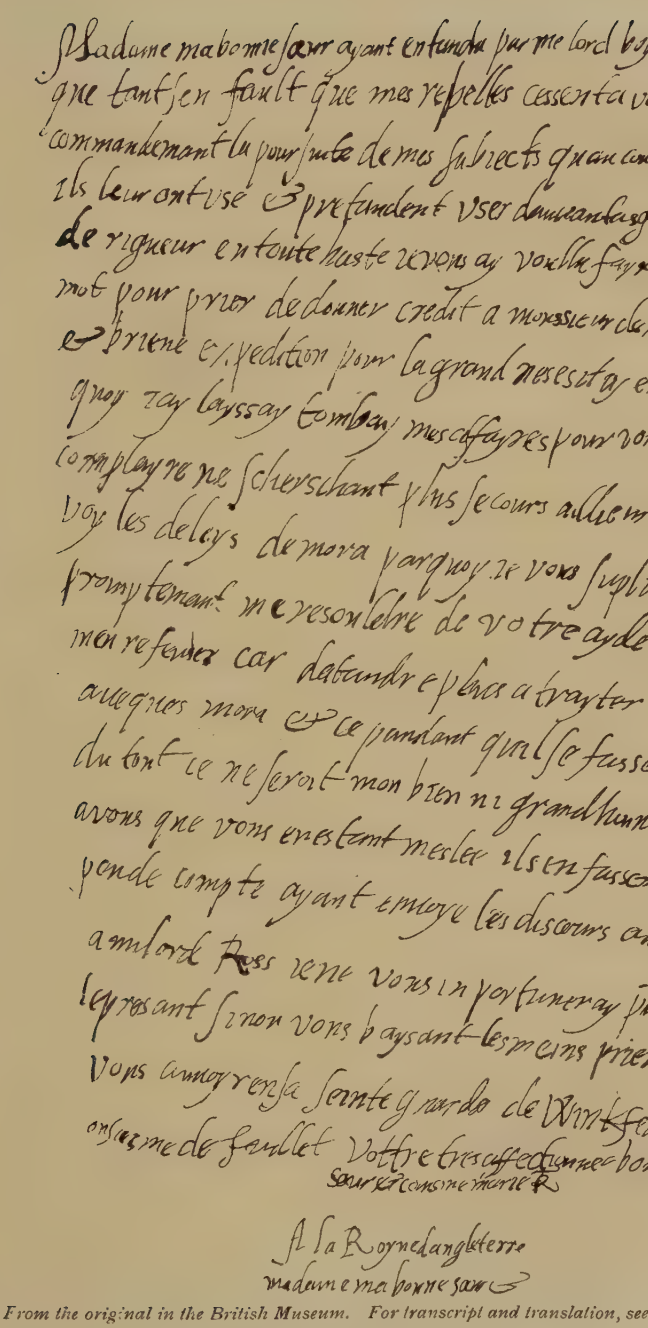
Maitland, the original instigator of this curious intrigue, which doubtless was also fostered by Lady Scrope, had suggested it partly to prevent further enquiry into the Darnley murder, partly from a desire to do the best he could to restore the fallen fortunes of a sovereign from whom, in the past, he had received many kindnesses, and to whom his wife was strongly attached; but he was also largely influenced by its bearing on the union of the kingdoms, which had always been the passionate aim of his diplomacy. Moray had pretended to favour it, chiefly, he afterwards affirmed, that he might get safely back to Scotland through the northern counties; and he kept up

[1] *Spanish Papers*, 1568-79, p. 97. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

the pretence of doing so after his return to Scotland, probably in dread of some movement against him, headed by Maitland. Norfolk still supposed him "well affected" when, in answer to an enquiry of his, he informed him, on July 8th, that Lord Boyd had commission from him and the Queen of Scots to resolve him of all doubts, and that his aim was "the uniting this land into one kingdom in time coming, and the maintenance of God's true religion."[1] It may be that in these professions, Norfolk, at the time, was sincere in the sense that he had not as yet gone over to the Catholics, but the main aim both of him and Mary was to obtain the assent of the Scottish Estates to the annulment of the Bothwell marriage. About the same time, through the Bishop of Ross, a scheme was devised by which, on certain conditions, Elizabeth agreed to recommend that Mary should be appointed to the joint government of Scotland with her son—that is, with the Regent;[2] but at a convention at Perth on July 28th, both the proposals for a joint government and for the annulment of the Bothwell marriage were rejected.[3] Moray's temporising policy with Norfolk and his sister was thus brought to an end; and since the original ground of Mary's confinement in Lochleven was her refusal to give up Bothwell, the convention by its rejection of both Mary's proposals made clear that any compromise with her had, as regards the party of her brother, become an impossibility.[4]

Mary's main aim in opening up communications had been to get rid of her marriage bonds: it is incredible that she desired restoration after the humiliating manner

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, i. 414.
[2] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 642–3.
[3] *Register of the Privy Council*, ii. 1–9.
[4] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 666–7.



From the original in the British Museum. For transcript and translation, see Appendix F.

LETTER OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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of a mere semi-sovereignty, and it may well be doubted whether she had any real intentions of marrying Norfolk. She certainly had no intentions of marrying him as a Protestant; but had the Scottish proposals been favourably received, they would have assisted in winning her the support of the English Protestants. Already the Protestant aspect of the Norfolk project had, however, made considerable progress in England; and the failure of the Scottish project did not interfere with this. While Elizabeth was being beguiled with the Scottish project, the Bishop of Ross was conducting negotiations, through Norfolk, with the principal English nobility.[1] His scheme, which was a revival of that of Maitland, and may have been resumed at his instigation, was for the recognition of Mary's title to the succession, on condition of the establishment in Scotland of the same religion as that professed in England, and the reference of Mary's marriage to Norfolk to the consideration of Elizabeth. Through these intrigues a combination was effected between the Protestant and Catholic nobles of such influence that on August 27th the Council agreed to the remarkable resolution for the settlement of the succession to the English crown on the strange heroine of the Westminster and Hampton Court conferences, and this on condition that she condescended to marry an English nobleman.

That so soon after the Hampton Court nobles had declared that Elizabeth could not "without blemish of her own honour" permit Mary to "come into her presence," a majority of the Council should declare her the most fit and proper person to become Elizabeth's successor, is at

[1] Heads gathered by the Bishop of Ross in *Scottish Papers*, ii. 651–2.

a first glance altogether staggering ; but the startling change in the situation had a double, and therefore a sufficient cause. On the one hand, Norfolk and his Protestant allies had angled to secure support for his marriage to the Queen of Scots, on the understanding that in this way the religious *statu quo* would be maintained. But while the Protestant nobles were aiming to secure the Protestant succession in a peaceable manner and with Elizabeth's sanction, the Catholic nobles had in hand a scheme for securing Mary's liberty, if necessary by force, and—however her liberty might be obtained—her final enthronement as a Catholic sovereign. Thus de Spes was informed in August that the Duke, Arundel and Pembroke were pushing the business forward with the support of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Exeter, Montague and others, and that if they succeeded "religion" should be restored.[1] Indeed as early as June Arundel and Lumley were affirming that they would make Norfolk a Catholic.[2]

As for Mary, she, late in August, was assuring Philip that if she were at liberty she would deliver herself and her son into his Majesty's hands, but that now she would be obliged to sail with the wind, although she would never depart from his wishes either in religion or other things.[3] The fact was, also, that until she got a divorce from Bothwell she of course could not marry Norfolk, whom, however, she was enticing to forswear his religion and venture his all on her behalf by affectionate letters, which, in manner and phrase, were a sort of pale reflex of her passionate outpourings to Bothwell. She had

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1568-79, p. 183.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 158. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

apparently never set eyes on the English Duke, who, compared with the burly ruffian who was still her husband, was the mere shadow of a man; her chief knowledge of his perfections must have been gained from the devoted testimony of his sister, Lady Scrope; but the romantic phase of Mary's history may be said to have terminated with the conclusion of the fevered Bothwell episode, and though in her Norfolk letters we have the old vows of constancy and submission, their appeal is mainly to his nobleness and generosity, and they are lacking in any great pretence at true amatory fervour. As for Norfolk—simple, vain, well-meaning and invertebrate—he was quite unable to resist the apparently devoted wooing of a sovereign lady, or the visions of future glory which the thought of marriage to her conjured up. If she would not marry him as a Protestant, for the maintenance of what the Protestants deemed the "true religion," he was prepared to become a Catholic, in order that what the Catholics termed "religion" might be restored.

The drawback in having to depend on such a colourless champion was, however, that while he was so admirably fitted for the double part of decoy and dupe, he was unlikely to be successful in the bold and firm rôle that those who had him in hand proposed ultimately to force upon him. His leanings were all towards the old peaceful method of obtaining the formal sanction of Elizabeth for Mary's recognition as his Protestant consort and her Protestant successor. We must suppose that his Catholic coadjutors did not believe in any such possibility; but they were content so far to humour him in his Utopian imaginations, on condition that should Elizabeth dissolve them, he should join them in an

attempt to set Mary free by force of arms. It is by no means clear that the day-dreaming Norfolk quite realised the character of the intrigue into which he had been enticed ; for, essentially weak in character, he shrank from the too close contemplation of unpleasant possibilities. He even lacked the courage for the preliminary adventure of broaching the matter to Elizabeth, who, being finally informed of it by Leicester, did her best indirectly to induce him to speak out, and when she failed, let open on him the floodgates of her wrath. Soon thereafter, Norfolk suddenly left the court for Andover, whence on September 15th he explained to Cecil that he hoped time would "bring her Majesty to like of them which mind best to herself";[1] and on the 24th he wrote to Elizabeth from Kenninghall that he had retired, because he had learned that some intended his overthrow and imprisonment ; but this letter was crossed by one from Elizabeth commanding him without delay to repair to her at Windsor, and this upon his allegiance.[2]

As soon as Norfolk had left the court, Elizabeth gave orders to Huntingdon to remove Mary to Tutbury and take her under his special charge. On Huntingdon giving Mary his message she was in no way abashed ; but on the contrary boldly replied that since Elizabeth would do nothing for her, she would see what other princes would do.[3] She was in fact in expectation of an immediate rising on her behalf ; and closely watched though she now was, she managed to send a message to Norfolk, urging him to have no fear for her, whom God would protect, but to behave with promptness and courage, since only pusillanimity could

[1] *Hatfield MSS.*, i. 419. [2] *Ibid.*, 422-3.
[3] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 677.

ruin her cause.[1] Had Norfolk been Bothwell, no such incitement would have been needed, and had Norfolk listened to it, Elizabeth would have been faced with the most formidable crisis in her whole reign. But Norfolk was not made of the stuff that could enable him to blossom into either a hero or a desperado. His villainy, if villainy it can be called, was entirely of the weak and contemptible order: after several miserable attempts to brace up his courage for the great adventure, he took advantage of the excuse of Mary's close guardianship under Huntingdon to send word to Northumberland meanwhile to postpone the designed insurrection. To avoid, also, compliance as long as possible with Elizabeth's commands to return to London, he pretended to fall ill of an ague. It was, however, of an entirely moral kind; and on receiving the Queen's commands to come up, though in a litter,[2] he had no alternative but to discard his illness, and set out on his inglorious return. Between London and Windsor he was arrested, and on October 8th was sent to the Tower, but nothing very definite being discovered against him he was not brought to trial.

In November the northern lords rashly undertook, on their own account, the endeavour to march southward for Mary's rescue, but the attempt ended in a fiasco. Immediately on news reaching Elizabeth of the rising, orders were sent to transfer Mary to Coventry, whence on December 17th she sent a singular appeal to Elizabeth, in which she asserted that she herself had too "much reason to suppress rebellion," to aid it, or wish it or excuse it; and implored her not to keep by force, as an enemy, her

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1568-79, p. 198. [2] *Hatfield MSS.*, i. 425.

who had come to her as a friend and of her own accord.[1] All the while she was continuing her correspondence with her imprisoned champion, to whom she wrote on December 9th that she would never give him up unless he cut her off, on January 31st that she herself cared not for any danger, and was prepared to make an attempt at escape if he was prepared to do the like, and on March 19th that if his mind did not shrink at the matter she was ready to live and die with him.[2] What Norfolk thought of these intimations we are not informed; but in November a Catholic Bull had been obtained dissolving the Bothwell marriage on the ground of rape,[3] so that Mary was now free to marry Norfolk, or even a greater suitor should she only, by aid of Norfolk or another, obtain her liberty.

Meantime the regent Moray, recognising his danger from Maitland's fomentation of the Norfolk intrigue, had—on account of certain statements of French Paris—got him accused early in September by Captain Thomas Crawford, a servant of Lennox, of being of "the counsell, foreknowledge and device" of the murder of Darnley; but while Maitland lay awaiting his trial, Kirkcaldy by a sham order induced his keeper to give him up, and took him to the Castle of Edinburgh, of which he was then captain. After the northern rebellion, Moray also proposed to Elizabeth that, since his sister was "the ground and fountain from whom all these tumults and dangers flow," she should be returned to Scotland to "remain there in safety";[4] but before the negotiation could be concluded, a term had been put to Moray's control over the fortunes of his sister. The fact that the Hamiltons had recourse to

[1] *Scottish Papers*, iii. 24–5.
[2] Labanoff, iii. 5, 19, 31.
[3] *For. Ser.*, ix. No. 1412.
[4] *Scottish Papers*, iii. 39.

the expedient of his assassination, on January 23rd, 1569-70, as the only method left them of retrieving their fallen fortunes, only showed both how unworthy and how incapable they were of having them retrieved; and the removal of him, whom they deemed the chief source of all their recent woes, left them further than ever from the attainment of their ambitions. As for Mary, she wrote to Beaton, in a quietly satisfied fashion, that she was only the more indebted to the assassin, in that he had acted without any instigation of hers.[1] Knowing that her brother was the most formidable—and latterly, next to Knox—the most implacable of all her enemies, his removal must have filled her with a sense of unutterable relief, and have thrilled her anew with hopes of restoration to her Scottish throne; but what her brother and Knox had already achieved against her in Scotland was not, while she lived, to be undone. As for the martyred Moray, his character and aims have been pretty fully discussed in previous chapters; and the short period of his regency, while it brought into full prominence his total alienation in mind and heart—for reasons which from his point of view seemed fully justified—from his sister, also revealed that beneath his opportunism, his avoidance of all unnecessary perils, his capacity of passivity, and his genius, in difficult emergencies, for cringing, there was great latent resolution. But, if we must also admit his vigour and his high ability as a strictly Protestant ruler, the narrowness of his political as well as his ecclesiastical outlook is equally undeniable; and under him Scotland was perhaps only saved from overwhelming religious tyranny by the internal disquiet existing during the whole period of his rule. The

[1] Labanoff, iii. 354.

enigma as to the essentially selfish or high-minded character of his ambition was also left unsolved, though it must be said that he rather utilised his worldly influence for the advancement of the "true religion," than allowed the interests of the "true religion" to interfere with his worldly advancement.

Curiously enough, while Moray was journeying from Stirling to the fateful Linlithgow, and Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was quietly completing the arrangements for his assassination on the morrow, the thoughts of the imprisoned Queen of Scots were turned specially towards the child in Stirling Castle, in whose name Moray was usurping her authority. On January 22nd she wrote to the Countess of Mar that she was sending him "ane lytill hacquenay with sadill and ye rest of ye harnessing thereto," and that the Earl of Shrewsbury was sending him another. To the child there was also enclosed the following almost stern, though touching, note:

"Deir Sone, I send thir berares to see zow and bring me vord how ze do, and to remember zow that ze have in me a loving moder that vishes zow to learne in tyme to love, knaw and feir God: and nixt yat, conforme to Goddis command and gud nature, to remember ye dewtie anent hir yat hes borne zow in hir sydes. I send zow a buik to learne ye samyn, and I pray God zow may learne yat begenning, and that He will give zow His blessing, as I do hartlie give zow myne, in hoip zow sall deserve it quhan zow come to discretion.

"Your loving and gud moder, Marie R."[1]

"The "bearers," James Lauder and Sandy Bog, were

[1] *Scottish Papers*, iii. 56-8.

From an old French Print.

BISHOP LESLIE.

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not, however, allowed to bring to her son either the ponies or the letter ;[1] and it was to be one of Mary's bitterest experiences gradually to realise not only that she had no hold on her son's affection, but that his political aims and intentions were quite at variance with her own.

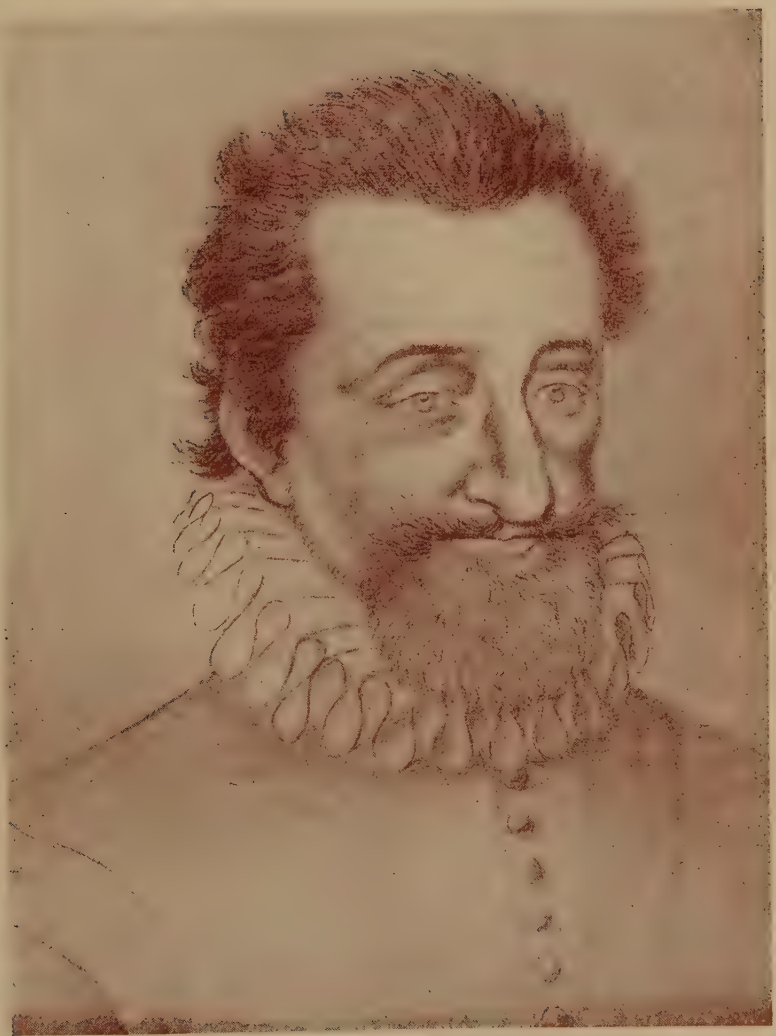
In May, 1570, Elizabeth made a pretence of negotiations for the restoration of Mary—now transferred to the comfortable quarters of Chatsworth—but they were suddenly brought to a close by the premature appearance of a pamphlet by the Bishop of Ross, "In Defence of Queen Mary's Honour"; and after Elizabeth in July had given her consent to the appointment of Lennox as regent, the chances of Mary's restoration became more hopeless than ever. True, mainly at the instance of France and Spain, Elizabeth made a pretence of resuming negotiations in the autumn, and they were protracted until the following spring; but they ended in the customary fiasco, Elizabeth on March 23rd announcing to Mary's commissioner that she could go no further in the matter, since Morton declined to treat thereupon.[2] It may have been partly on account of the foreign efforts now made on Mary's behalf, that, most likely at the suggestion of Lennox, it was arranged that his feudal dependent, George Buchanan, should make known to the world the misdoings of Mary in his wildly and grossly vituperative pamphlet, which this year appeared in London under the title *De Maria Scotorum Regina*, an Anglo-Scots version of it following under the title of *Ane Detection of the Doinges of Marie Quene of Scottis*, with an appended exhortation beginning "Now, judge Englishmen if it be good to change Queens."

Meanwhile the Norfolk conspiracy had, notwithstanding

[1] *Scottish Papers*, iii. 93. [2] *Ibid.*, 511.

Norfolk's protestations and promises to Elizabeth, been only scotched, not killed: to Mary it seemed to be her sheet anchor; and under the spell of her advances Norfolk was soon again completely in the toils of the old dupery. Having obtained his liberty in August, 1570, he was induced to give his consent to the dispatch of the Florentine Ridolfi in order to complete with the Duke of Alba, Philip of Spain and the Pope, a scheme for foreign aid to a projected English insurrection;[1] but the apprehension in April of the Bishop of Ross's servant Charles Bailly with secret dispatches in cypher exposed the conspiracy; and after the full revelation of its character through the cowardly confessions of the Bishop of Ross, Norfolk paid the penalty of his rash wooing by his execution on Tower Hill, June 2nd, 1572. Both Houses of Parliament petitioned that the Queen of Scots should share his fate; but Elizabeth, realising in such a petition the existence of a strong sentiment of loyalty to herself, could afford to assume towards her rival a show of generosity, and replied that "she could not put to death the bird that had fled to her for succour from the hawk." Mary, who was then very strictly confined in Sheffield Castle, under Sir Ralph Sadler's charge—the same Sir Ralph to whom her proud mother had exhibited her infant limbs—during the absence of Shrewsbury at the trial, had fallen in a "great contemplation, fasting and prayer"; [2] and on learning of Norfolk's fate fell into "a passion of sickness": but Shrewsbury, who had now returned, had good reason for supposing that her illness was not so serious as her attendants asserted: indeed there are various indications that she never intended

[1] Instructions of Mary, and also of Norfolk, in Labanoff, iii. 221-52.
[2] Letter quoted in Leader's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 248.



From a drawing by an unknown artist in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Photo by A. Giraudon, Paris.

HENRY IV. OF FRANCE (HENRY OF NAVARRE).

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to marry Norfolk, who had hardly manifested qualities fitted to win her esteem. Shortly after the occurrence of the Bartholomew massacre, on August 24th, Elizabeth, who had refused to put to death the bird, proposed to deliver it over to the hawk. Lennox, assassinated—also like Moray at the instance of the Hamiltons—on September 5th, 1571, was now succeeded in the regency by Mar ; and Killigrew was sent to Mar by Elizabeth to propose that Mary should be delivered up to the Scots, on their making formal application to Elizabeth, causing her to be executed, and doing this entirely on their own responsibility. Mar regarded Mary's execution as "the only salve for the cures of this commonwealth" ; but when the proposal was broached to Morton he by no means approved of Elizabeth's expedient, unless Elizabeth were prepared openly to accept the same responsibility for it as the Scots ; and Elizabeth declined to allow the bird to be put to death on any such conditions.

But while the Ridolfi conspiracy had fatally damaged the cause of Mary in England, her cause had now in Scotland become practically hopeless. Even the death of her great opponent Knox, on November 24th, 1572, in no way lightened the gloom of the Catholic situation, for the mantle of her brother had fallen on Morton, who on the death of Mar had succeeded to the regency. With his accession to power more resolute efforts were taken, by means of aid from Elizabeth, for the capture of Edinburgh Castle, with the surrender of which on May 29th, 1573, perished the last hopes of the revival of the Queen's cause in Scotland. In order that a prophecy of Knox might be fulfilled, Kirkcaldy, its heroic defender, was some time afterwards executed on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh ; and Maitland, the chief inspirer of his resolute defence,

would have shared the same fate, but for his death, shortly after the castle's surrender, from sheer physical weakness. It was a supremely sad ending to a life devoted to such high and enlightened political aims. His aims were indeed too enlightened for their adequate appreciation by his contemporaries. Yet he was essentially a practical rather than a doctrinaire statesman ; and if, after achieving so much as he did, he found himself finally baffled, this was mainly due to the fact that he could not conquer, on the one hand, the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the sovereign whom he sought to the best of his ability to serve, or on the other those of the sovereign who was her irreconcilable opponent.

CHAPTER XII

LAST YEARS

THE remainder of Mary's years may be summed up as a vain beating against the walls of her prison-house—the result being, of course, injury mainly to herself. That she should cease to beat was, however, hardly to be expected, even had her nature been less impatient and invincible than it was, for there were dominions and powers outside leagued, after a fashion, on her behalf ; and though jealousy of each other prevented any united effort, on the part of the powers, to set her free, that possibility was never quite outside the range of practical politics, while liberty also, through negotiation, was never altogether beyond hope. Thus her life continued to be a never-ceasing series of sanguine expectations, intermingled with an equally constant series of disheartening disappointments. Elizabeth's arrangements for her comfort were perhaps as liberal and generous as was compatible with her detention. Mary about this time, and very properly from her point of view, abounded in complaints and remonstrances of all kinds with the view to securing as free and untrammelled a life as possible ; but of any weak compliance with her wishes, she was prepared to take prompt advantage in order to regain her liberty. Ceaselessly brooding on plans and plots for freedom, eager

to the very uttermost of desire for triumph over her rival, and as dazzled as ever by day-dreams of future sovereign splendours, her various residences—whether when she enjoyed facilities for hunting and other outdoor amusements, or was kept in close confinement to her room—were alike to her as bare of the essentials of the life on which her hope was fixed, as the prison-cage is to the restlessly pacing panther, looking and longing for the wild delights of the jungle.

After the fall of Edinburgh Castle, Elizabeth became somewhat more at ease as regards her prisoner. It was better that she should not be permitted to escape, but the danger of the triumph of her cause in Britain, except by foreign aid, was virtually past. This Mary had herself realised. In February, 1574, she assured Elizabeth that she had no desire to establish any secret relations in England, her only desire being to escape out of the country: and her purpose was either to go to France, or, should that be possible, to establish her authority in Scotland.[1] Such plans in no way commended themselves to Elizabeth, who, since she would not permit Mary to proceed to France when she first arrived in England, was not likely to be persuaded to do so now; but she desired to be outwardly on as good terms with Mary as possible, and to avoid foreign complaints about her harsh treatment of her prisoner. A visit to the baths at Buxton, which Mary had proposed in 1572, was now granted, if not without great hesitation on Elizabeth's part. After being transferred to Chatsworth in August, 1573, Mary had the satisfaction of receiving a message that Elizabeth had been brought to allow it. But the visit was not to be prolonged, and Shrewsbury

[1] Labanoff, iv. 117–111.

From the picture attributed to P. Oudry, in the National Portrait Gallery.
Photo by Emery Walker.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1578) WHILE IN CAPTIVITY IN SHEFFIELD.

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was instructed to strengthen his guard and adopt very special methods of vigilance. She stayed at Buxton for a month—from August 25th to September 25th—and on her return to Chatsworth requested La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador in London, to inform Elizabeth that her health—she referred to rheumatism and the old pain in her side—had been greatly benefited by the use of the waters—and to express her conviction that if a longer time were allowed her at Buxton in the coming year, she would be completely cured.[1] The visits to Buxton, repeated more than once, concluded in 1584, when so strong were about this time her hopes of freedom that she supposed this visit to it would be her last, which it indeed turned out to be, but for other quite different reasons. She is said to have written on a window pane the following farewell to it:

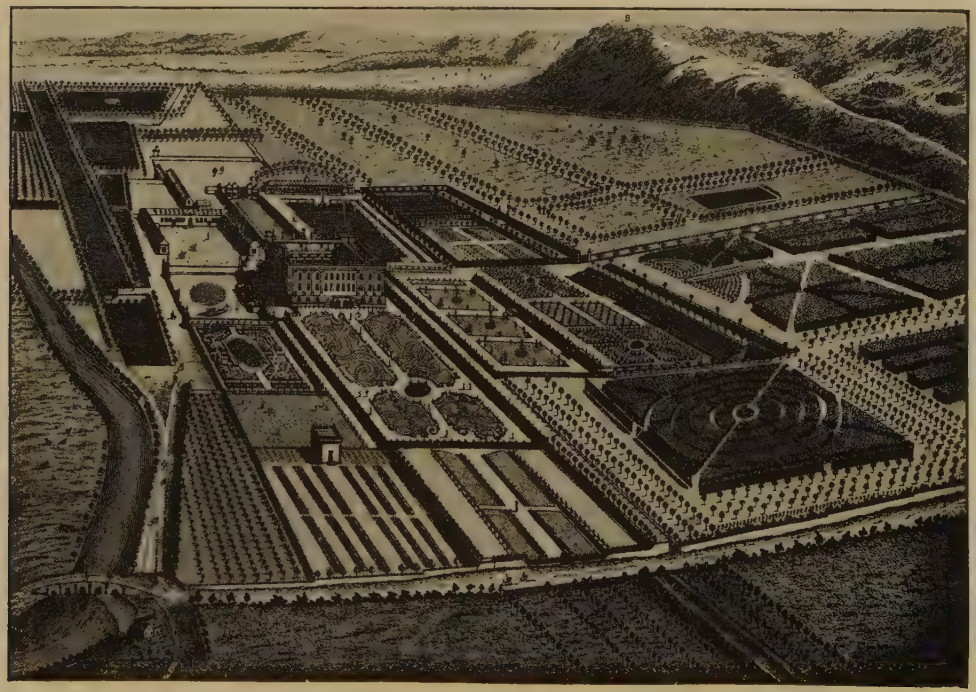
> "Buxtona, quae calidae celebraris nomine Lymphae,
> Forte mihi post hac non adeunda, Vale."

Early in November, 1573, she was again transferred to Sheffield, as a precaution against certain obscure plots to convey her out of the country. In the beginning of the following year, there were, on this account, negotiations with one William Wharton about various dastardly schemes of espionage and betrayal; but they were all deemed lacking in sufficient feasibility, and no arrangement was arrived at with him by Elizabeth's ministers.

As Mary had nothing now to gain from coquetting with Protestantism, she declined to attend the Protestant services of the household, and demanded facilities for the exercise of her own religion. But, on account of her

[1] Labanoff, iv. 92.

previous pretences of a half conformity to Protestantism, her English guardians professed to regard her anxieties about the consolations of her old religion with some degree of ridicule : and even many Catholics had come to have doubts as to her real attachment to their faith. She therefore had to assure La Mothe that she made the demand seriously and not for her own mere amusement. "I do not," she affirmed, "joke at all in regard to so serious a matter." She was resolute, she said, to remain, as she had always been, faithful to the Church she "recognised as alone approved of God, the Church Catholic, Apostolic and Roman." She had given no testimony as to the merits of the other religion, that could properly be termed faith. She had refused the communion after the Protestant fashion ; and Knollys and others could bear witness that she had never pretended to be in any sense a Protestant, but had often disputed with them on the points of their faith. Her sole aim in attending the Protestant services was, she said, to help Elizabeth to recognise that she was not possessed by such hatred or rancour towards Protestantism, as to make it necessary for her to despair of having peace with her. This was all very clever and ingenious, but her aim had not been to gain Elizabeth's confidence, but to delude the Protestant friends of Norfolk. She was much nearer the truth when she went on to say that the late proceedings of the Protestants had made it needless for her to carry her pretences in regard to Protestantism further. In the last Parliament Elizabeth's clergy had, she pointed out, presented articles and conclusions to deprive her of her life ; and as for the Protestant clergy in Scotland, they were her irreconcilable foes and had long been bent on her execution. How, therefore, could she



From a print after L. Knyff's drawing.

CHATSWORTH.

An old view, showing a part of the house as it was in Mary Stuart's time.

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have any serious predilections for Protestantism? Besides—as she said she had told the Protestant Bishop of Lichfield—after the specimens of Protestant opinions she had listened to, she had been only the more confirmed in her own faith; for in truth, the only point of importance on which she had found the Protestant clergy in agreement, was in their attacks on the Pope and the Catholic princes.[1]

On March 29th, Mary informed Beaton that she had come into the possession of a French Book of Hours, corrected by the Pope, and she wished to know whether, as it was in the vulgar tongue, special permission might in the circumstances be granted for the servants to use it in their private devotions. The one practice of religion they had was the reading—most likely the reader was Mary herself—of some sermons of M. Picard, to which they all assembled.[2]

Latterly the presence of a chaplain, in her household, under the guise of an attendant, was tacitly allowed; and in October, 1575, she addressed a letter to the Pope, in which, while referring to the impossibility of receiving the sacraments, she craved that her chaplain should be granted episcopal functions and have power, after hearing her confession, to grant her absolution. She also desired that for the advancement of the "cause," and in order to divert suspicion, twenty-five Catholics, whom she named, should be absolved from the sin they incurred by attending Protestant services. Finally she asked the plenary indulgence, that when she prayed before the holy wafer, when she suffered in silence an injury inflicted on her by a heretic, or if at the moment of death she repeated the words *Jesu, Maria*, her sins might be forgiven her.

[1] Labanoff, iv. 94-8. [2] *Ibid.*, 129-30.

Much of Mary's leisure was occupied in artistic embroidery, in which she possessed high skill; and she also amused herself in collecting a miscellaneous assortment of birds and small animals, in watching the idiosyncrasies of which she always took great delight. On July 9th she wrote to Beaton to send her some turtle doves and some Barbary fowls that she might see if they could be reared in this country, and she stated in the same letter that she was collecting all sorts of little birds to rear them in cages. On September 22nd she again wrote him that if her uncle the Cardinal of Guise had gone to Lyons, she hoped he would procure for her a couple of pretty little dogs, for almost her only pleasure, besides reading and working, was in her small menagerie of animals.[1] But she evidently also gave no small share of her attention to the chief problem of many ladies' lives, that of personal adornment. In this she was especially skilled; and it being with her an artistic resource, as much perhaps as a matter of personal vanity, she was still as keenly concerned about it as in the brilliant days at the court of France.

In July she asked Beaton to send to her Jean de Compiègne, one of her old French agents, with patterns of dresses and samples of cloth of gold and silver and silk, also that another should get made for her head-dresses, after the previous fashion, with a crown of gold and silver, and that a third should, according to his promise, procure for her from Italy the newest fashions in head-dresses and veils and ribbons, and she would repay him whatever they cost.[2] In May she completed for Elizabeth the elaborate embroidery of a skirt of crimson satin in silver lace. Elizabeth having expressed her admiration of the present

[1] Labanoff, iv. 183, 229. [2] *Ibid.*, 186.

and her pleasure at receiving it,[1] Mary, in her impulsive fashion, now began to arrange for a sort of continuous bombardment of her rival with these proofs of her affection —bracelets, tablets, head-dresses, network and even French sweetmeats[2]—her hope being apparently that Elizabeth's pleasure would mount, and mount, and mount, until from pure delight and gratitude she would set open her prison doors and bid her go free. But Elizabeth, who began to realise the awkwardness of being the recipient of so many tokens of affection from a lady she was holding in durance, gradually became more chary in her expressions of gratification, and at last grimly advised Fenelon to remind her of the difference in their years, and that persons who began to grow old were accustomed to take with two hands and give only with one finger.[3] For the time being, however, Mary's attentions conferred on the relations between the two queens an outward aspect of friendliness; and in the circumstances Elizabeth could hardly refuse her the gratification of a second visit to Buxton, whither she went as early as June.

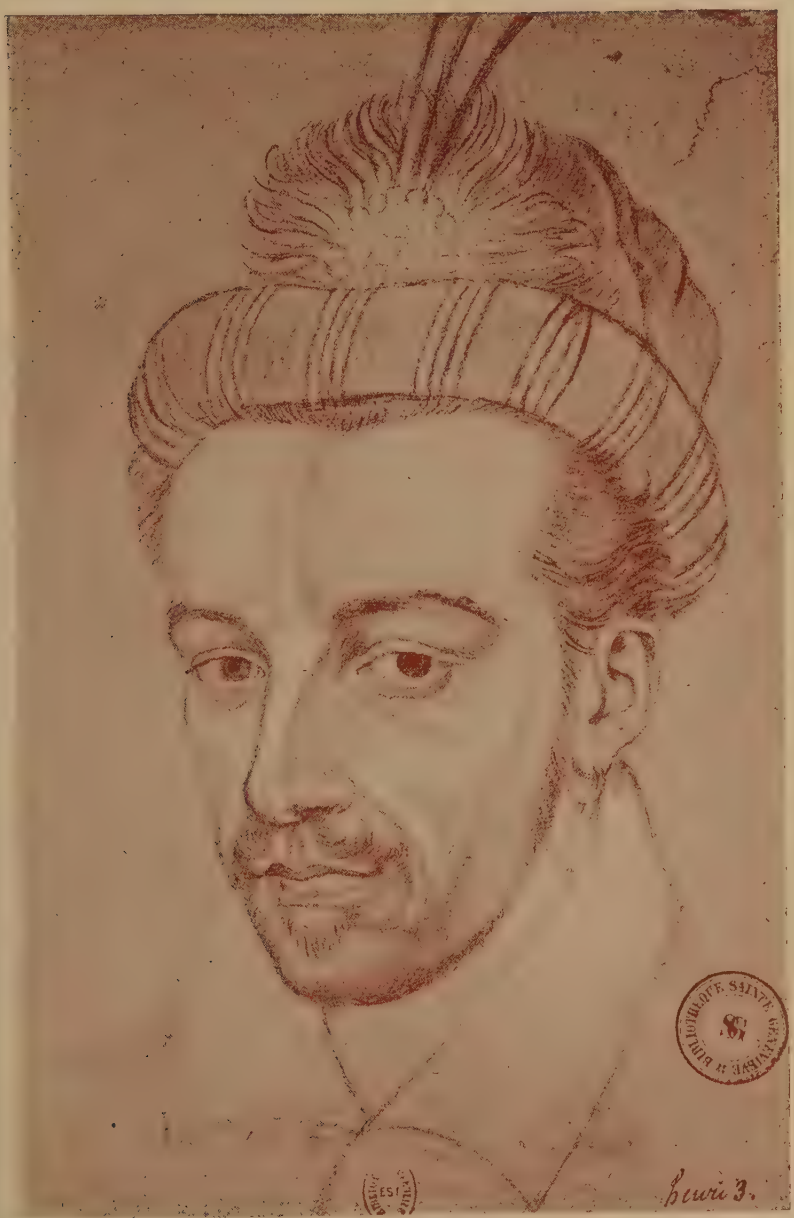
All the while, Mary was plotting as busily as she was plying her needle. Scotland, France and Spain—her eyes were ever turned towards these three kingdoms, in the hope that aid of some kind might sooner or later reach her from one or other of them. It would, she realised, be a great step towards the recuperation of her fortunes, if she could even get her son spirited out of Scotland: he would thus be placed beyond the clutches of Elizabeth, whose desire to get him transferred to England was to her a source of most painful anxiety; she would also no

[1] Fenelon's *Correspondance*, ed. Cooper and Teulet, vi 122
[2] Labanoff, iv. *passim*.
[3] *Correspondance*, vi. 393.

longer have to dread his alienation from her in religious or political aims ; and should she herself be detained for some years to come, in captivity, he might yet appear in England with foreign aid as her champion and deliverer. It was at least a pleasing dream ; and she at once set about endeavours for its realisation. Through her old champion, George Douglas, she succeeded in opening up communication with Cunningham of Drumwhassel, the Master of her son's household in Stirling Castle, with the view of getting the Prince sent to Dumbarton and thence to France.[1] Her purpose was not effected then or afterwards, for neither Cunningham nor his patrons, Argyll, Atholl, and other nobles, had any desire to send the Prince out of the country ; on the contrary, they intended to make use of him in Scotland for their own particular ends ; but these ends they regarded as compatible with loyalty to Mary ; and in her negotiations with them we have the germ of the conspiracy which later compelled Morton to resign the regency. Meanwhile Mary was greatly gratified by a report which reached her, that her son was entirely devoted to her : though he was being educated as a Protestant, it was comforting to know that amongst those who had him in charge, were some who were secretly loyal to herself and would do what they could to cultivate his filial piety.

Whilst these varied intrigues were in progress, Charles IX. of France died in May, 1575. Since November, 1570, he had been married to Elizabeth of Austria ; and with this marriage his interest in the fortunes of the Scottish Queen whom he had so greatly adored in his boyhood had become but lukewarm. With the accession, however, of

[1] Labanoff, iv. 193, 249.



From an anonymous drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Photo by A. Giraudon, Paris.

HENRY III. OF FRANCE IN 1585.

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Henry III., who as Duke of Anjou had been regarded as a special friend of the Guises, Mary's hopes of French aid somewhat revived. She made efforts to obtain from him more active support for her cause, and more especially to prevent the renewal of the league with Elizabeth, who had then begun coquettings with Henry's brother, d'Alençon. But since Henry gave no sign of exerting himself actively on her behalf, her thoughts became more and more directed towards Spain. On August 4th, she sought to remove from Beaton and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the suspicion that she intended to send her son to Spain and not to France; and as to the stories which had reached them about overtures of marriage from Don John and from Leicester, she knew nothing, she said, either of the one or the other.[1] Nevertheless, the Spanish agent in London, Guaras, on the authority of one of the Queen's ladies, had been informed that Philip's late wife, Elizabeth of France, had suggested to Mary a marriage between the Prince of Scotland and the eldest infanta. This lady had also expressed to Mary the opinion that she could desire nothing better, and also informed her of the common rumour that she was to marry Don John, upon which Mary had said that in this she placed herself entirely in the hands of God and Philip. Guaras strongly urged the proposal as beneficial both to Spain and the interests of religion, and expressed the opinion that, if Philip would agree to it, Mary would have no other will than his; and he also understood that she would be only too pleased to place her son in Philip's keeping.[2] Don John, the bastard brother of Philip II., had by the great victory of Lepanto in October, 1572, become the hero of the

[1] Labanoff, iv. 201. [2] *Spanish Papers*, 1569-79, p. 484.

Catholic world; indeed the common rumour for some time after the Lepanto victory was that his next great exploit would be to subdue the English Turks, that is the Protestants; and he was supposed to anticipate, as his apotheosis, a great adventure on behalf of the captive Queen of Scots, and his elevation as joint sovereign with her of a united Catholic Britain. Such a method of deliverance became more and more the hope of Mary when, after the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine in December, the prospects of any effective aid from France gradually diminished. But, meantime, Don John was busy with other adventures, and had he not been, the jealousy of Philip—apart from other reasons—would not have permitted him to engage in a project which would still more decidedly relegate Philip to a secondary place in the eyes of Catholic Europe.

In September of this year, another important intrigue occupied the thoughts of others in close contact with Mary, if not of Mary herself. Lady Lennox had obtained leave from Elizabeth to pay a visit to Scotland with her son Charles. As she was accustomed to call on Lady Shrewsbury at Chatsworth, Elizabeth now warned her against doing so, on account of the presence there of the Queen of Scots. The Queen of Scots had, however, just been removed to Sheffield Lodge; and in order that the very letter of Elizabeth's command might be complied with, the Countess of Shrewsbury went to receive Lady Lennox and her son at Rufford Abbey. There Lady Lennox happened—so it was represented—to fall sick; and while she was confined to her bedroom—so also it was represented—her son and Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of Shrewsbury, fell so desperately in love with

From a contemporary picture.

LADY MARGARET DOUGLAS, COUNTESS OF LENNOX,
Mother of Lord Darnley

each other that nothing would serve but that they must be married, almost as soon as Lady Lennox was able to leave her bedroom. It was of course a high misdemeanour that they should become man and wife, without leave asked of Elizabeth ; but apparently the two mothers had for reasons of their own set their hearts on it, as much as the two ingenuous young people apparently had set theirs ; and all were prepared to take whatever unpleasant consequences might happen to them. There is no evidence that Mary had any connection with the romantic episode, or that she took any interest in it, except as a means of reconciliation with Lady Lennox.

On the other hand, Lady Lennox and Lady Shrewsbury were possibly acting at cross purposes. The motive of Lady Lennox was probably reconciliation with the Queen of Scots, through the new connection formed with the Shrewsburys. If Elizabeth died—and there was a general impression that she would not live long—Mary might very possibly succeed her ; and though Lady Lennox thought it prudent to assert to Elizabeth that she never could have dealings with the Queen of Scots, since, being flesh and blood, she could not forget the murder of her child, yet she did not wish to debar herself from all future favour from the possible Queen of England, who was also the mother of her grandchild. As for Mary, nothing could suit her better than a reconciliation with Lady Lennox, since it would mean the renewal of support from many Catholics who had been estranged from her by the circumstances attending the death of Darnley. In any case, whatever Mary's part in the accomplishment of the marriage, and whether any understanding was then arrived at by her with Lady

Lennox or not, Mary, after the death of Lady Lennox in 1578, affirmed that she had been reconciled to her for five or six years, and that Lady Lennox had sent her letters expressing regret at the wrong she had done her in the accusations she had been induced to make against her, at the instance of Elizabeth and her Council.[1] Clearly, therefore, Fenelon's fear was unjustified, that the influence of Lady Lennox would tend to estrange the Shrewsburys from Mary,[2] though latterly Lady Shrewsbury began to regard her grandchild Arabella Stewart as a rival claimant with Mary to the English throne. Nor did Elizabeth share in Fenelon's surmise : her supposition clearly was that Lady Lennox and Mary had become reconciled; and besides ordering Lady Lennox and the newly married couple into confinement, she was supposed for a time to have meditated transferring Mary from the care of Shrewsbury to that of Huntingdon.

For some time the monotony of Mary's imprisonment remained unbroken by the revival of any new definite hopes of deliverance : the Pope, Spain, France, Elizabeth, Scotland—though Mary's glances for help included them all, and she was prepared to promise or profess anything that would enable her to secure her liberty—she turned towards them in vain ; and, for a while, her future must have assumed to her the aspect of a mere dead wall. The place of her secretary Raulet, who for some months in 1574 had been seriously ill and who died in September, was taken, after the death, in December, of the Cardinal of Lorraine, by the latter's secretary, Claude Nau, who, besides his training under such a master of intrigue and diplomacy as the Cardinal, had a complete knowledge

[1] Labanoff, v. 31. [2] *Correspondance*, vi. 293.

of the whole political and ecclesiastical network of Europe; but even his skill and devotion could do but little to bring about an amelioration in her fortunes. The loss of the Cardinal, badly as he had served her—not only while doing so unconsciously and with the best intentions towards her, but latterly when he had completely thwarted her main ambitions—was, in her present distressful situation, deemed by her a peculiarly great calamity, for when he died his influence was still great in Catholic Europe, and probably she reckoned on him for schemes in which he had but a secondary interest. The chances are that he would have proved himself, still once more, to be to her but the broken reed that he had latterly over and over again proved himself to be; but with him away she found herself greatly hindered in her endeavours to interest the French king in her affairs; and after the renewal of the old French treaty of alliance with England in 1575, her hopes became more and more concentrated on Spain.

Before May 21st, 1576, Mary had been given to know that another of her links with the past had been broken by the death of Bothwell; but by this time the flame of her passion for him had become, we must suppose, mere dust and ashes; and, although we have no clue to the state of her feelings on receipt of the intelligence that the hero of her old, strange romance was no more, her only reason for writing Beaton was that she had heard that on his deathbed he had made a declaration, swearing "on the damnation of his soul," that he alone was responsible for the murder of Darnley, and that she was innocent of any connection with it. Her aim was to get Beaton to send a messenger to Denmark to get confirmation

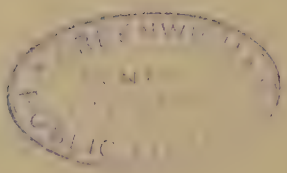
of his supposed statement ;[1] but later she learned, falsely most probably, that the King of Denmark had sent a declaration of his to Elizabeth, who, she supposed, would conceal the facts.[2] The truth was, however, that Bothwell, though insane, was still alive, his death not taking place until 1578.

Shortly after Mary received the false intelligence that Bothwell had passed beyond her mortal ken, her hopes became quickened anew of marriage to Don John, a lover intrepid and daring as had been Bothwell, but, from all accounts, a much nobler, as he was a much more triumphant hero. His appointment in 1577 to the governorship of the Netherlands seemed greatly to improve Mary's chances of rescue by him. Doubtless it was pleasantly flattering to her vanity that her situation should have aroused the romantic interest of so famous a champion ; but her wooing of this great conqueror was like most of her other wooings, mainly a matter of business : should he rescue her, he would be rewarded with the hand of a queen and joint-sovereignty over two kingdoms. She had, of course, never seen him, but her enthusiasms of the heart were now probably over ; marriage to him, while much more accordant with her ideals than marriage to Norfolk, was valued mainly as a means to the gratification of her absorbing passion for liberty and triumph. Whether she wrote him epistles after the old Bothwell-Norfolk manner, we have no information ; but her references to him in such letters as have come down to us are remarkably reserved, and contain no enthusiastic allusion either to himself or to his deeds. All through 1577 his name occurs frequently in her letters to Beaton,

[1] Labanoff, iv. 330. [2] *Ibid.*, 340.

From a contemporary engraving.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.



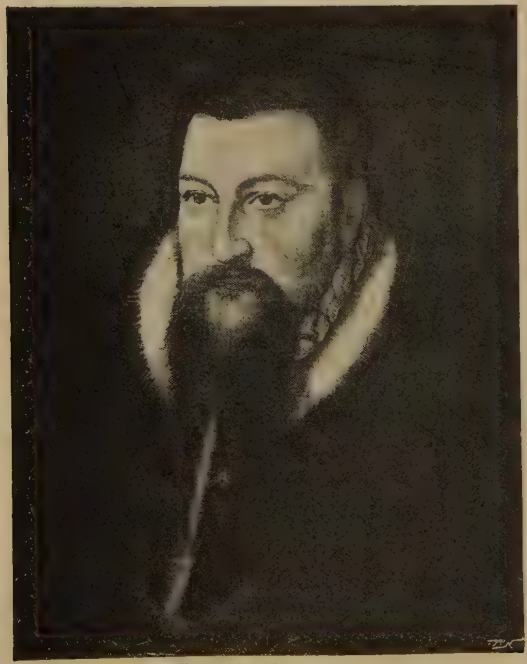
but mainly with regard to rumours in England of an understanding between him and her, which, possibly for certain reasons of her own, she seems to imply had no existence. On July 12th she informed Beaton that Leicester had offered his mediation in procuring Elizabeth's agreement to the marriage with Don John, but that she had contemptuously replied that she had been so often deceived by Elizabeth's false promises and professions, that she did not wish to trouble her in any way about her private affairs.[1] Her hopes of liberty from Elizabeth, or of any arrangement through Elizabeth with Scotland, had meanwhile vanished : but besides the Don John affair, she had the possibility of utilising her son's prospects so as to tempt France or Spain to take up her cause, and she was seeking to work on the mutual jealousy of the two countries, or rather on Spain's jealousy of France ; for it was towards Spain that her hopes were mainly directed. But even if her son were got out of Scotland, he would take with him to France or Spain neither Scotland nor England ; and the enterprise on her behalf would hardly be a whit easier than before. Nevertheless—a mere helpless prisoner in Elizabeth's hands though she was—she made, in 1577, a will, which was probably communicated to Philip, and in which, assuming the right and power to dispose of Britain, as if it had been her own private property, she formally designated her son sole and only heir of her kingdom of Scotland and of her rights in the crown of England, on condition that he returned or was brought back to the fold of the Church Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman ; but should he remain a heretic, she made over all rights in England and elsewhere to Philip, not only

[1] Labanoff, iv. 372.

because she was convinced that he was the only true supporter of the Catholic religion, but out of gratitude for the great favours which she and her friends had formerly received. She further desired that Philip should seek to make a friendly alliance with the houses of Lorraine and Guise. In case her son should die before her, she left her throne in Scotland to the Earl of Lennox or Lord Claud Hamilton, whichever of the two appeared to the house of Lorraine to be the more faithful to her cause. Should she die in captivity in England, her body was to be conveyed to St. Denis for burial beside her first husband, Francis II.[1]

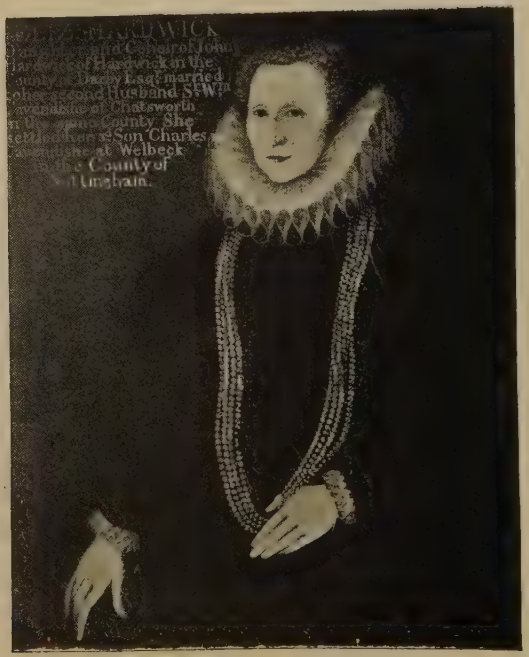
At the same time Mary was prepared on certain terms to come to an agreement even with Morton,[2] and we must also suppose that she was doing her utmost to open up communication with Don John. On August 27th, Guaras —a strong advocate of the Don John adventure—informed a friend that he had found a safe means of communication with her, and that while it was reported that Killigrew was seeking to bribe the Scots to consent to the transference of the Prince to England, in order to compass the ruin of both mother and son, the general opinion of the English Catholics was that if the Prince were in Spain, "the welfare of the world would result."[3] In October her communications with Don John came to a sudden close by the seizure of Guaras, who was sent to the Tower. There he was interrogated as to his correspondence with the Queen of Scots, and her communications with Don John, but disclosed nothing; and it is very doubtful whether he had anything of importance to disclose; for whatever the desire

[1] Labanoff, iv. 352–62. [2] *Ibid.*, 400.
[3] *Spanish State Papers*, 1568-79, p. 546.



After the portrait at Rufford Abbey.

GEORGE TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY.



After the portrait in possession of the Duke of Portland.

ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

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either of Philip or Don John might be, the impassive and self-devoted King of Spain had no intention of meddling with a doubtful and dangerous scheme, from the success of which he would in his own estimation be more a loser than a gainer.[1]

Nevertheless, on November 16th, 1577, she stated to Beaton that on account of the influence Elizabeth was ever exercising over the rebels in the Low Countries, Don John had informed Philip that the best means to assure tranquillity there was to make a descent on England.[2]

Whether this was more than a surmise or rumour it is impossible to decide; but in March following, Mary was at last gratified by the news of an actual achievement on her behalf—an achievement remarkable enough in itself, and which seemed to promise results of far-reaching importance. This was a seemingly successful revolt against Morton—headed by Argyll and Atholl—which was followed by his resignation of the regency. Thus the intrigue began by her through the mediation of George Douglas in 1574, though it had not realised her final anticipations as to the transference of her son to France or Spain, had, apparently, in other respects succeeded quite beyond her expectations; and, in her eager, impulsive fashion, she sent instructions to Beaton as to how the event might be turned to the best account with France, Spain, Elizabeth, and even with Morton; but alas! before Beaton could begin twisting anew his ropes of sand, intelligence reached her that the supposed Scottish revolution had ended in a mere fiasco.[3] On April 26th, the young Earl of Mar had, virtually on Morton's behalf, seized Stirling Castle; and finally, after

[1] See Articles to be administered to Antony Guaras, in *Hatfield Calendar*, part ii., p. 228. [2] Labanoff, v. 8. [3] *Ibid.*, 32-40.

various surprises and alarms and threats of civil war, a compromise was effected by which, in August, Morton became chief of a regency council.

Perplexed and dumbfounded by the new turn of affairs, Mary, on September 25th, sent to Beaton a long, bewildering medley of lament—on account of her apparent abandonment by the Pope and France, her neglect by Spain, the position of her son in Scotland, the evil plottings of Catherine de Medici—and of all sorts of contradictory advice as to the best means of restoring her almost hopeless fortunes.[1] She now professed to rely mainly on her French relatives, but she expressed the opinion that Catherine de Medici in suggesting her son's marriage to one of the Princesses of Lorraine had no other object than to effect a rupture in her relations with Don John and Spain. It was in Don John that she placed her chief hopes of direct succour, and Don John was doubtless ready to make the great attempt could he but induce Philip to say the word; but Don John's death before Namur, October 1st, 1578, ended for ever that golden day-dream. On receipt of the news of the great commander's death, Mary is said to have remained nearly two days without food.[2] But if the blow was stunning, it affected rather her personal and worldly ambitions than her sentiments and affections; and she quickly recuperated. On November 21st, in reply to the condolences of Father Edmond, she affirmed that she prayed to God that her sorrows might at least redound to the glory of His Church, and that while her continued adversities had made her more and more oblivious of the vanities of the world, she was still more resolved than ever to do what in her lay for the advancement of the Church's

[1] Labanoff, v. 52-67. [2] *Spanish State Papers*, 1568-79, p. 624.

interests.[1] Doubtless she supposed her intentions to be as thus announced; but she nevertheless on January 2nd, 1579, addressed a letter to Elizabeth in which she, of course, denied that she had any secret intelligence with foreign princes, that her negotiations with the Pope were in any way prejudicial to England—as she probably did not deem them to be—that her communications with the King of France could be other than advantageous to England, since he was the common friend of Elizabeth and her, that Guaras had in any way been employed by her, or that, in fact, she was other than entirely devoted to England's and Elizabeth's well-being.[2]

The death of Atholl on April 5th, 1579, after a banquet of reconciliation with Morton at Stirling, was naturally attributed by Atholl's friends to poison; for the reality of the reconciliation was hardly credible. But accidents do occasionally happen; and no evidence of unfair play was discovered, though it was generally supposed that the death was a heavy blow to the cause of the Queen; and the prosecution of the Hamiltons, consequent on the King's nominal acceptance of the government, rendered still more difficult the organisation of a powerful party on her behalf. Ever fertile in expedients, and never quite discouraged when her circumstances seemed most desperate, Mary now, however, bethought her of obtaining Elizabeth's leave to send Claude Nau into Scotland with letters and presents to her son, in order that through the cultivation of his friendship an understanding with him might by-and-by be arrived at. In one respect the mission was a failure, for since the letters were addressed to him merely as Prince, not as King, it was decided neither to permit

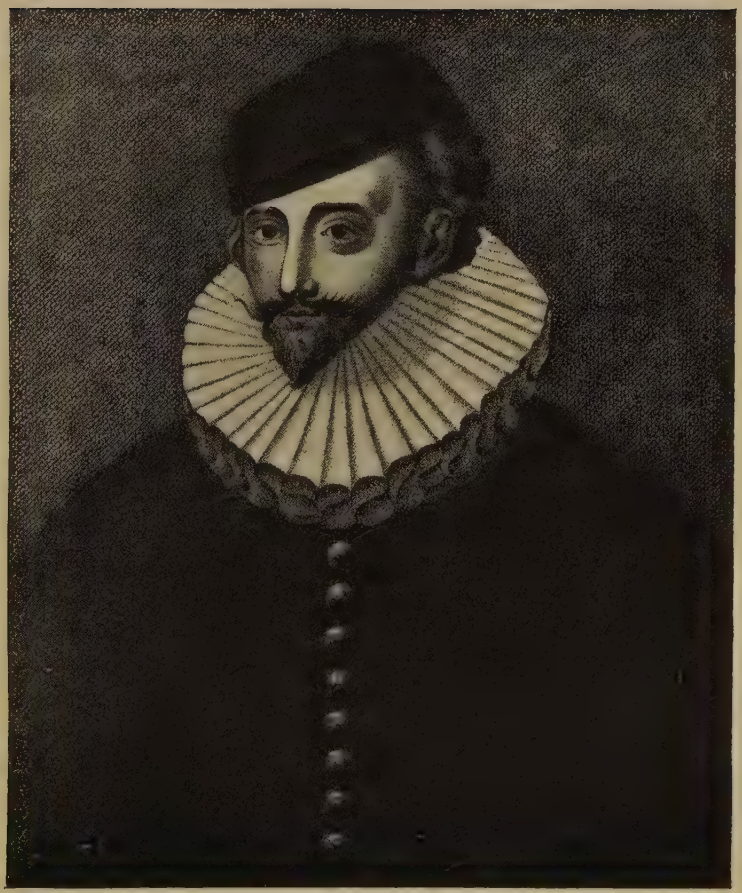
[1] Labanoff, v. 71-2. [2] *Ibid.*, 73-9.

them to be delivered, nor to allow Nau to have an audience of him; but the aversion to any communication between mother and son indicated the weak point in the defence of Mary's opponents, or, as she put it, in a letter to Beaton :—"Be this may every one knowe the feare which these traitours have of my sonnis good nature toward me."[1] Ever hopeful, she was perfectly satisfied with the results of the visit. It had at least enabled her secretary to communicate very fully with divers of her faithful subjects, and by them to "understand the whole state of the affairs of the country." Nau also himself expressed to Beaton his entire satisfaction with what his visit had accomplished;[2] and we must suppose that it had a close connection with a scheme which began to assume a definite shape early in the following year.

With the form which the Scottish plot ultimately assumed, a new personality, who now suddenly appears upon the stage, was to play an important part, though he was acting rather on his own than on Mary's behalf, and his interests and hers were to a certain degree opposed. The death of Atholl and the forfeiture of the Hamiltons supplied him with the chance of which he took such ample and striking advantage. The unique personality referred to was the fascinating, intriguing, cowardly and phenomenally false Esmé Stuart, son of John Stuart, Lord of Aubigny in France, who was the third son of the third Earl of Lennox, brother of the late regent. Charles Stewart, younger brother of Lord Darnley, had already died, leaving by Elizabeth Cavendish, a daughter, Lady Arabella Stewart, and the earldom of Lennox had devolved on James VI., who had conferred it on his uncle Robert, second son of

[1] Labanoff, v. 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, 88.



From a contemporary portrait.

ESMÉ STUART, DUKE OF LENNOX.

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the third earl. Robert was, however, childless; and the prospective heir of the earldom was Esmé Stuart, who was married and had children. The death of Atholl made it possible for him to aspire to be the head of the Scottish Catholics, which, though soon after his arrival in Scotland he assumed the guise of a Protestant, he was by the Catholics secretly understood to be; but the likelihood is that he was prepared to be Catholic or Protestant as might best accord with his own personal ambitions. What made him of exceptional account was that while he very speedily acquired the special confidence of the King, he was, owing to the forfeiture of the Hamiltons, prospective heir, failing issue of the King, to the Scottish crown. Some time previously there had been a proposal to make use of him, but in her long letter of September 15th, 1578, Mary had advised Beaton against this, both because she was by no means assured of his goodwill to her, and lest offence might be given to the friends of the infant Arabella.[1] Whether he had any sincere devotion to her interests or not, she recognised that his sympathies were French rather than Spanish. He was evidently countenanced by the Duke of Guise, and he was supposed to be a kind of emissary of the French ecclesiastics; but his adventure, whoever were his patrons, was undoubtedly mainly on his own account, the forfeiture of the Hamiltons having opened up to him vistas of possibilities too alluring to be ignored. The ostensible occasion of his arrival at Leith on September 8th, 1579, was to congratulate his cousin on his acceptance of the government, and to be present at his state entrance into Edinburgh; but it was soon

[1] Labanoff, v. 61.

understood that he was to take up his residence in Scotland as the special friend and confidant of the King.

Had Mary reposed entire confidence in the devotion of d'Aubigny to her cause, nothing could have been more gratifying to her than to know that the King was under the charge of such a mentor ; but an arrangement of this character was evidently not regarded by her as quite an ideal one. Early in 1580, while seeking to blind Elizabeth and France by pretending to favour a marriage between Elizabeth and d'Alençon, her efforts had become concentrated on a revival of the old scheme for placing her son and her kingdom under the protection of Philip of Spain, her son to be married according as Philip might determine. With this scheme was connected a Scottish conspiracy, in which the notorious Sir James Balfour proposed to play a leading part by the employment in Scotland of certain Scottish troops, then in the Low Countries. To the Spanish scheme the Duke of Guise was made privy ; and he was supposed to favour it ; but it was to be carefully concealed from d'Aubigny, who was to be amused by being entrusted with a negotiation for the marriage of the Prince to the second Princess of Lorraine, as already purposed by Catherine de Medici.[1] The Balfourian part of the Spanish scheme, so far as it has been revealed, looks fantastic and impracticable enough ; and may have been, in great part, mere gasconade ; but in any case, it soon became manifest that Philip was not meanwhile disposed to take any venturesome step on Mary's behalf. This, however, did not prevent her from doing her utmost for the promotion of her own pet project for transporting her son to Spain. If she could only

[1] Labanoff, v. 173-4.

From Mr. J. J. Foster's "The True Portraiture of Mary Queen of Scots," by permission of Messrs. Dickinsons.

MARY STUART IN CAPTIVITY AT SHEFFIELD CASTLE, 1578.

From the painting by P. Oudry in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Hardwick Hall.

succeed in removing him from Scotland, she seemed to think that the battle would be half won: once out of Scotland, he would cease at least to be the usurper of her throne. But there is also evidence that, according to her lights, she was sincerely enough interested in his welfare. About this time reports of a serious illness from which he had been suffering caused her no little anxiety;[1] and in a letter to the Countess of Atholl of March 18th (but otherwise undated), hoping that he had received the books and presents she had sent him, she continues, "I pray yow let me hir the treuth off his helth, for sum fires me that he is sikli and not lyk to liue. I had me self a great siknes and indigestion off stomak in his zeres." She was therefore not disposed to make much account of this; but she adds: "Let me knou if he hes any schort end or host: for God's seek tak hid to him and see him offt."[2]

It is unlikely that Mary's scheme for sending her son out of Scotland commended itself either to d'Aubigny, or to Argyll and the other nobles of the opposition whom, through Lord Ogilvy, Mary was seeking to bribe to undertake it. D'Aubigny could hardly be much interested in Mary's sham proposal to marry her son to the Princess of Lorraine; even already he must have looked to do much better for himself than that, by utilising the young King for his own interest in Scotland; and those of the Scottish nobles who were bent on Morton's overthrow must have seen that the continuance of the King in Scotland was essential for their permanent triumph. Truth to tell, the cause of Mary was with them, as it was with France and Spain, but a secondary consideration. Attempts were

[1] Labanoff, 135.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commission, Twelfth Report*, Appendix, part viii., p. 9.

made by d'Aubigny—who on March 5th had been created Earl of Lennox, his uncle having surrendered to him the title—and others to prejudice the King against Morton, by causing a rumour to be spread that he was engaged in a plot to deliver him over to Elizabeth ; but the Council, having on the supplication of the Earls of Mar and Morton enquired into the rumour, declared it, on April 27th, to be groundless.[1] Nevertheless, the rumour was utilised to induce the King to make his escape from Mar's guardianship during a hunting expedition at Doune of Menteith, the plot failing owing to the refusal of the King to take advantage of the opportunity which his assumed friends were so good as to offer him. He may have learned something of the kind intentions of his mother towards him : we cannot suppose that he himself had any strong desire to be spirited away from his kingdom, whether the asylum were England, or whether it were France or Spain. Most likely, however, the aim of the conspirators was merely to get him out of the hands of Mar and Morton ; but this plot failing, and the more grandiloquent Balfourian one being deemed too Utopian, the aims of Mary, of Balfour, of Lennox, and of Argyll and the other nobles of his party became concentrated on a special plot for Morton's overthrow.

However various the motives by which these several personages and parties were actuated, they came to be of opinion that the main obstacle to the success of their plans was Morton. His prosecution seems to have been included in the original programme of Balfour ; and it may have been on this that Balfour all along was mainly bent, however he may have vaunted of the possibility of more

[1] *Register of the Privy Council*, iii. 281-3.

grandiose projects with which it could be combined. Balfour was of course mainly intent on his own purposes. He was in no way devoted to Mary or her visionary devices, and he was still less concerned about revenging the murder of Darnley, for in that conspiracy he had been almost as deeply involved as Bothwell himself, to whose name his appeared next on the placards affixed on the doors of the Tolbooth. But he took to plot and conspiracy with a satisfaction as heartfelt as that with which a duck takes to the water ; and if he could relieve the monotony of such ventures with the high delights of betrayal, then, apparently, for him "life's great end" was answered. As Knox, who had rowed with him in the galleys—for he had begun his public exploits by conspiring against the great Cardinal, and was then deemed "the cheaf and principal Protestant" in Scotland—remarked, there was in him neither "fear of God nor love of virtue further than the present commodity provides."[1] His ecclesiastical superior, Cardinal Beaton ; the Reformers in the time of the Queen-Regent ; the nobles when Riccio was in the zenith of his glory ; Darnley when Bothwell's star had come to be in the ascendant ; Bothwell and the Queen when luck had begun to go against them ; the King's Lords after the assassination of Moray ; Maitland and Kirkcaldy (whom he had joined in the Castle) by, after his forfeiture in 1571, making his peace with Morton —he had betrayed them all alike. Morton had sought to avoid the fate which he recognised that Balfour, being what he was, was bound sooner or later to prepare for him ; but Balfour learning that his patron was about to take action against him, made his escape to France. He had returned to Scotland after Morton's resignation of the

[1] *Works*, i. 202.

regency, but on Morton's accession to power had again escaped, whereupon the act of forfeiture passed against him in 1571 was renewed. But with all his precautions Morton could not avoid the reward that Balfour had in store for him; and he received it, so to speak, with compound interest. Early in 1580, Balfour had let it be known to the parties to whom Morton's overthrow was a matter of prime moment, that—on condition of full pardon and restoration to his estates—he was prepared to do his best to split on Morton in the matter of the renowned stalking-horse of contemporary British politics, the murder of Darnley. As it turned out, he was hardly in a position to do so, not because he knew less of the murder than he, but because he knew a great deal more. Morton had done the best he could to avoid committing himself to the murder; compared with Balfour he was a mere outsider; but Balfour, as dexterous a lawyer as Scotland ever bred, was prepared to make what indirect evidence he possessed, go a very long way; and if he succeeded in laying his hands, as he intended to do, on Archibald Douglas, Morton's conviction would, he counted, be easy enough; for Archibald, squeezable in whatever direction his interest lay, was not the man to stick at perjury when his life was in danger; and the choice would be given him of bearing witness—true or false—against his chief, or standing in the dock beside him.

Some time before March 18th, the hints of Balfour as to Morton's culpability had reached Mary, who, on that date, asked Beaton to procure, if possible, that Balfour should let her know the tenor of the band that Morton had signed for the murder of her husband, or should

[1] Labanoff, v. 137.

After a drawing by T. Allon.

HARDWICK HALL, DERBYSHIRE.

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give to Beaton a copy of it.[1] Balfour did send her a copy, but it turned out to be insufficient evidence in itself of Morton's connection with the murder. On May 20th she wrote to Beaton that while it was advisable to humour Balfour, she was, meanwhile, doubtful as to the advisability of attempting any great enterprise in Scotland—in fact her main aim was to have her son sent to Spain—and in regard to other matters, whatever they may have been, proposed by Balfour, she considered that their success depended on the overthrow of Morton.[1] Apparently she and others regarded the scheme of Balfour as by far the most feasible for this purpose that could be adopted. To Mary his proposal was, indeed, quite a godsend, for it seemed to clinch the theory of her innocency—the theory that Bothwell's abettors were mainly the Protestant lords : as in a manner they were, with, however—what Mary naturally preferred to ignore—the very important exception of Mary herself, who shared, as we have seen, the main responsibility for it with Bothwell. And while the expedient of Balfour was specially acceptable to Mary, it had to other parties concerned the advantages that, since it was strictly legal, it incurred the minimum of danger, and that it would be effectual in destroying not merely Morton but his reputation, and this with Protestants as well as Catholics. On this knightly adventure, the gallant Balfour—after much preliminary negotiation as to terms, and other matters of honour between him and Lennox—made his appearance in Edinburgh (or rather, came to Edinburgh, but avoided making his appearance there) on December 12th ; and the youthful King, after an interview in Holyrood Palace with this singular friend of his father, was induced to lend

[1] Labanoff, v. 158.

his patronage to the crowning project of the Scottish traitor of great renown.

In view of what Balfour undertook to reveal and make good, it was arranged, in accordance with a common formality of the period, that Captain James Stewart of the King's body-guard—son of Lord Ochiltree, and brother-in-law of the dead Knox—should accuse Morton of the murder before the Council. Morton was therefore apprehended and removed to Dumbarton to await his trial, but the wary Archibald Douglas, receiving news of what had happened, and recognising that he also would probably be wanted, fled to England.

On Archibald's escape, Balfour and the prosecutors had not counted ; and it was at once recognised that, in his absence, to make out a feasible case against Morton would test to the utmost the unscrupulous art of their accomplished counsel. On the penultimate of January, Balfour therefore wrote to the Queen that since Morton had taken upon him—on account of the escape of Archibald Douglas to England—to "deny all thingis promisit be him to Bothwell in that matter, except sa fer as the band (quhair of I did send the copie to youre majestie) dois testifie," and because he understood she had some further knowledge concerning that matter, he wished her to write to him at length all that she had heard or known about it.[1] The question, of course, concerned Morton's share in the murder, not Mary's, but, even so, it was a very delicate one. Most likely, however, she informed him, in some fashion or other, of Archibald's interview with Bothwell at Whittinghame,[2] and supplied Balfour with a sufficient

[1] Letter in Laing, ii. 314–318.

[2] See Letter in Robertson (1769), ii. 432–6.

clue for the introduction of the laird of Whittinghame as a witness.

But whatever Mary's reply to Balfour, there is no sign that she made any allusion to a band which the romancing Nau asserts Bothwell handed to her as a parting gift as he fled from Carberry, and which, he further declares, was signed by Morton, Lethington and Balfour. Indeed had Mary possessed such a band she could—now that Bothwell was dead, and had died, as Mary's friends asserted, acknowledging her innocence of the murder—have dispensed with the services of Balfour, or rather have had her revenge on him for delivering up the Castle, and have also infallibly secured Morton's conviction. All that she would have had to do, would have been to have handed over the famous band—about which so much that is contradictory has been rumoured and written and so little is really known—to Morton's accusers. Further, if Balfour had a chief hand—as he must have had, if so had Maitland—in the concoction or doctoring of the Casket Letters, now was Mary's chance of manifesting the hate which, we must suppose, on this theory, was quite as deeply cherished by her against Balfour as Mr. Lang hopefully theorises it was, on this account, cherished by her against Maitland.

But whatever contribution Mary was able to make to the general sum of insinuation and hearsay against Morton, such evidence as, in the absence of Archibald Douglas, was attainable, was made by the judges to serve its purpose. If anything was proved, it was that Morton had resolutely declined to have anything to do with the murder. It was further made clear that Bothwell, the right-hand man of the Queen, had made up his mind

to have it accomplished, with or without Morton's aid. Morton had also reason to suppose that the Queen was as desirous of its accomplishment as Bothwell; and from motives of prudence, and it may be also of direct self-interest, he did not deem it expedient to interfere with the purpose of persons who were then all-powerful in Scotland. In ordinary circumstances the victim could have been saved by warning him of what was meditated against him; but Morton judged, and quite correctly, that Darnley, if so warned, would simply betray the person who did him such a service. He therefore took no steps to prevent Bothwell carrying out his purpose; but the acquiescence of one without power to prevent, except at the certainty of his own ruin, is hardly on all fours, as Mr. Lang[1] is fain to suppose, with act and part in the murder. The judges were, however, as little inclined as Mr. Lang to consider explanations or extenuations. Enemies all of Morton, they conceived it their duty to find him fully guilty, if by any means they could; and they strained the law to breaking point against him. Their only aim was to ruin him, as formerly it was the aim of Morton to ruin or checkmate Mary; and thus, after a fashion, he was served rightly enough. True, Morton had ever avoided seeking Mary's life; but those who had Morton's fate in their hands deemed it best to make "siccar," while they had the chance; and thus on June 2nd, 1581, the rude, stern, strong man, who was Mary's "greatest enemy," and, with all his private blemishes, one of Scotland's greatest rulers, received the foolish recompense of decapitation by his own Maiden at the Cross of Edinburgh.

Shortly after she learned of the execution, Mary, who

[1] *History*, ii. 272.

had her own special ends to serve in doing so, asked George Douglas—her deliverer from Lochleven, and then in the special service of the King—to "make my commendacions to the lairds that are most neere unto my sonne, and shewe unto them that I give them most hartie thanks for their dutie employed against the erle Morton who was my greatest enemye, of whose execution I am most glad."[1] Mary's exceeding gladness was probably composed partly of satisfaction that Morton had received his deserts, partly of relief that her formidable foe was now no more, and partly of joyful anticipation at the opportunity that seemed now to be opened up for a friendly arrangement with her son, to whom she, in this same letter, desires George Douglas to show that "it will not be best" that he should continue longer to "dissemble the good affection," which, she understood, he bore to her. But alas! whatever good affection the King was disposed to bear to his mother, he bore a still better affection to himself; and her fond hopes of restoration to liberty and sovereignty through him proved the vainest of her day-dreams. The death of Morton had come too late; her son had now acquired a will and individuality of his own, and besides, those who now had him in charge had their own purposes to serve—purposes which were in reality as opposed to the day-dreams of Mary, as were the purposes of Morton. We are therefore now on the threshold of another stage in Mary's tragedy—that of cruel and complete frustration by her son. Mary assumed, as she was bound to do, that she was rightful sovereign of Scotland; but she was willing, on certain conditions, to be associated with him in the sovereignty, provided that he accepted his sovereignty

[1] Labanoff, v. 264.

as a gift from her. She expected that, on this understanding, he would do his utmost to secure her liberty; and, in addition to the motives of filial affection, she proposed to appeal to the additional help he would thus secure to obtain the English succession.

On January 5th, 1580-81, Mary gave power to the Duke of Guise to treat with her son on what conditions he was to be associated with her in the Scottish crown.[1] Whether the arrangement was to be completed while her son was still in Scotland, or after he was placed in the hands of the Duke's friends abroad, there is no evidence to show; but strangely enough, even after the apprehension of Morton, and while he was awaiting his trial, she was apparently still possessed with the notion of spiriting him out of Scotland. On March 4th she instructed Beaton—in order to prevent an alliance between France and England—to offer that her son should be conducted into France and married according as the French King should decide, though nothing was to be concluded without good assurance and the advice of the Duke of Guise.[2] Probably no attention was paid to her vain overtures, for on April 10th de Tassis wrote to Philip that Beaton had just told him that it was Mary's intention that her son should go to Spain, both to forward the Spanish marriage and his conversion to the Catholic religion, which she hopefully supposed was already begun.[3] Later Mendoza was further informed that she was using every effort to make him submit to the Catholic Church, and with this view had sent him a Papal brief and some Catholic books to read.[4] The

[1] Labanoff, v. 185-7. [2] *Ibid.*, 208.
[3] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 98; Teulet, v. 225.
[4] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 109.

From a miniature by F. Hilyard.

JAMES I. OF ENGLAND AND VI. OF SCOTLAND.

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truth was, however, that Mary's intentions and proposals in reference to her son's marriage, or religion, or future were merely futile. He himself intended to have the main say in this; and she was assuming a power of decision which she did not possess, and could not possess so long as she remained a prisoner in England. Nor did her visionary assumptions at all appeal to the cold and languid common sense of Philip, who on July 22nd merely advised Mendoza to urge her to warn her son to look sharply after his own interests, to submit to the Catholic Church, and to make himself master of his kingdom.[1] But Philip's advice, judicious enough though it seemed to be, if the case of James had been as his mother represented it, was, as it turned out, quite astray; for it was given under an entire misconception of the young King's plans and purposes. His mother's assumed ascendancy over him was merely a fond delusion. He was in need of counsel neither from her nor from Philip, and such counsel as they proposed to give was unacceptable, where it was not superfluous. With the aid of his adroit, if equivocal, henchman Lennox, he deemed himself quite fit to manage his own affairs; and he had no intention either of subordinating his own interests to those of his mother, or of stultifying his theological accomplishments by submission to the Catholic Church. So far from there being any signs of this latter consummation, he particularly prided himself on having converted his cousin to Protestantism; and although the Protestantism of Lennox was a mere fable, he was probably as sincere a Protestant as he was a Catholic.

After Mary's receipt of Philip's letter, she seems, however, to have abandoned her device of sending her son

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 150; Teulet, v. 228.

abroad. One of her main aims in endeavouring to get him out of the country was to annul a sovereignty which was inconsistent with her own ; but the difficulty always was that her Scottish friends were of opinion that a bird in hand was worth two in the bush, and discerned that with the young King abroad and Mary a prisoner in England, they would be deprived in Scotland of a suitable figure-head. Lennox was less disposed than even Atholl and Argyll to deprive himself of this—until the fit time came. The chances seem to be that in the long run he would, in some way, have betrayed his cousin ; most likely he had his eyes on at least the English throne for himself or his descendants ; but meantime, it was his interest to establish James in his sovereignty in Scotland, with himself as virtually prime minister. His splendid Scottish, and possibly English, prospects he had no intention, if he could help it, of blighting to please Mary, or Guise, or Henry, or Philip or the Pope. So far, therefore, from desiring to transport James from his kingdom, he was evidently now as firmly bent on establishing his sovereignty, practically in opposition to Mary, as were the Protestant devotees, who, with the blessing of Knox, crowned the infant Prince in the church of Stirling. It was doubtless at his suggestion that overtures were made in September to Henry III. of France to obtain the recognition of James as King of Scotland. The bribe was a renewal of the old alliance in opposition to Elizabeth, between whom and James there was now entire estrangement on account of the execution of Morton. Henry III. and Catherine de Medici therefore joined in advising Mary to accede to the proposal, in order that her son might rule Scotland in her name.[1] In connection with

[1] See Teulet, iii. 119-22.

these negotiations, a document seems to have been prepared at Mary's instance to be presented to the Scottish Estates, in order to have her abdication of her throne at Lochleven declared to have been of none effect. But such a proposal was entirely chimerical. It is only worth mention as a specially striking example of the inability of Mary, where the question of her sovereignty was concerned, to recognise the impossible. To have mooted such a scheme would have been at once to have set aflame all the latent Protestant hostilities, even had her son been disposed to have done anything to invalidate his title. The establishment of Mary as virtual sovereign, with her son as *locum tenens*, being thus out of the question, Mary proposed to defer the scheme for his association with her in the sovereignty (which was meanwhile his by actual possession) until his conversion to Catholicism.

Unwelcome and inadmissible as was, however, to Mary the recognition of her son's sovereignty, she took full advantage of the French suggestion so as to give herself the delight of tormenting and bewildering Elizabeth, and concussing her towards the adoption of more considerate treatment of her than had been manifested since the death of Morton. She represented the "association" proposal as having been made by her son to her through the King of France, and intimated her desire, with Elizabeth's approval, to admit him to the joint sovereignty. Protesting also against the new restrictions on her liberty, she finally declared that, should Elizabeth decline to lend an ear to her complaints and requests, she would resign to her son, not merely her rights in the kingdom of Scotland, but everything else in the world she had, or could pretend or hope to have: so that, as she bitterly

and adroitly remarked, nothing would be left for her enemies to dispose of, or to wreak their cruelties or their vengeance on, than a poor, sickly, and pining semblance of a personality.[1] The imprisonment of one who had transferred all her sovereign rights to her son, would, she, with perfect conclusiveness, insinuated, be a mere futility; and of course her argument was pointed by the undeniable fact that Elizabeth's Scottish diplomacy had lately been a woeful failure. Elizabeth had merely succeeded in causing the young King to cherish against herself the bitterest suspicion and animosity; and should his mother transfer to him her rights and secure for him the old French alliance, he might prove an even more formidable menace to Elizabeth and England than his mother had been. Elizabeth, therefore, at once sought to climb down from her lofty attitude towards James by sending Captain Erington to open negotiations for a friendly understanding; but since James peremptorily forbad the English envoy to cross the border, Elizabeth, with the cynical deceitfulness she had ever at hand in an emergency, now sought, through Beale, brother of Walsingham, whom she sent to Sheffield as a special envoy, to persuade her captive, by vague promises of restoration to liberty, to join with her in an endeavour to settle Scottish affairs. Mary, who had been anticipating with keen curiosity the entertainment that Elizabeth—good, simple soul—was preparing for her, went delightedly through the form of doing her utmost to further the kind intentions which her generous host professed to have in view for Mary and her son and Scotland; and she made a pretence of communicating, in grave and

[1] Labanoff, v. 266-70.

From a print in the British Museum.

THE MANOR-HOUSE, SHEFFIELD.

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properly diplomatic terms, with her son on the subject; but her letters to Mendoza make it clear that she estimated Elizabeth's advances at exactly what they were worth, and was intent merely on fooling her to the top of her bent.[1] But in addition to the welcome diversion with which Elizabeth was varying the monotony of her prison life, Mary also gained from the negotiations the advantages of improved arrangements for her comfort, and much greater facilities for communications—communications which would have much astonished Elizabeth had she intercepted them.

While Mary was thus succeeding in leading Elizabeth a dance, the Catholics were busy in Scotland with a great complex conspiracy, which, however, was lacking in proper elements of cohesion. It originated in a proposal of six Catholic English noblemen, that on James submitting to the Catholic Church they would promote a rising on his behalf in England, and release his mother. In connection with the proposal, a Jesuit emissary proceeded to Scotland to set about the work of the young King's conversion; and, later, Father Creighton, specially delegated by the Pope, sought to engage Lennox in an enterprise against England, aided by foreign troops. There was much confabulation and felicitation, and scheming and vague preparation; but the whole business was airy and unsubstantial—mainly a devout imagination of the Jesuits and the Pope, which Mendoza had imprudently encouraged without sufficient authority from his master, and which collapsed like a pricked bladder when brought into contact

[1] See especially Mary's letters to Mendoza, January 14th and April 6th and 8th, in *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, pp. 257-60, 330-333, with which compare notes of Beale in *Hatfield Calandar*, part ii., pp. 443-47, and Mary's letters in Labanoff, v. 281-297.

with the realities of the political situation ; for (1) James had no intention of being converted ; (2) Lennox, with all his assumed friendliness to the enterprise, would not take part in it, except on practically impossible conditions, including the very important one that in no case should the sovereignty of James be interfered with ; (3) Mary, who was by no means satisfied with the conditions, and was doubtful even of the intentions of the Duke of Guise, declined to have anything to do with it, until an understanding were arrived at as to her association with James in the crown ; and (4) Philip, while desirous to do his utmost both to promote the interests of Catholicism in Britain and to frustrate the purposes of France, had no interest in effecting the union of Scotland and England under one crown. All that the intrigue—fomented and encouraged by Mendoza and then finally burked by Philip—effected, was to sow in Scotland seeds of conspiracy against Lennox, the development of which was specially favoured by the renewal of the old quarrel as to the authority of the Kirk.

On August 22nd, 1582, the hopes of Mary, and her Catholic emissaries, of the young King's conversion to Catholicism suffered, therefore, a sudden blight by the dramatic incident known as the raid of Ruthven—the appropriation of James, in the house of the Earl of Gowrie, by the Protestants Lords—the final sequel to which was the expulsion from Scotland of the vacillating, cowed, and beaten Lennox. The news of the disaster threw Mary into a fever of perturbation and solicitude, her letters to Beaton and others being filled with all kinds of wild and vain suggestions. So far, however, the incident was of some service to James, as it constrained France—jealous

of the influence now exercised in Scotland by Elizabeth—to induce his mother to agree that he should be accorded the title, and be associated with her in the crown of Scotland.[1]

In order to influence Spain to some decision on her behalf, Mary on October 12th wrote to Mendoza that, if unsuccessful in her overtures for help, she purposed, instead of fruitlessly wasting herself in England, to retire to some place where she might pass the rest of her days in greater freedom of conscience.[2] If, however, she seriously intended such a step, it would be necessary to put her case before Elizabeth ; and whatever possibilities she may have had in contemplation, she did on November 8th address to Elizabeth a long, passionate letter of recrimination and remonstrance, which included an appeal to be permitted to retreat to some place of repose in another kingdom, in order to obtain some alleviation of her bodily sufferings, and with liberty of conscience to prepare her soul for God, who was daily calling for it. If Elizabeth declined to grant this, she had then two particular requests to make : that since she felt that her end was drawing nigh, she might have two women to wait on her during her illness and an honourable ecclesiastic to instruct and perfect her according to the religion in which she was firmly resolved to live and die.[3]

The sufferings, sorrow, and despair of the captive queen were real and ample enough, and much of her letter must have voiced the actual feelings of her heart ; but her spirit was not quite so broken as she was fain sometimes to suppose. At any rate, she took care both that her

[1] Teulet, iii. 192.

[2] Spanish *State Papers*, 1580-86 p. 404.

[3] Labanoff, v. 319-33.

letter should be read by the French ambassador and that Elizabeth should know he had perused it, for he delivered it unsealed. She possessed, in truth, an admirable histrionic talent, and she was utilising it as skilfully as possible to play off Elizabeth against France and Spain, and France and Spain against each other and Elizabeth. The representations of Fenelon on behalf of France—eager to forestall Spain in Mary's regard—finally induced Elizabeth to send Beale on a second mission to her at Sheffield. Not that anything definite was, or could be, intended by the mission. It was desirable to continue the assumption of friendly patronage, and it was of some consequence to get a fairly correct understanding of Mary's situation and sentiments, but Elizabeth had no intention of doing her any notable service. Although a pretence was made of considering certain proposals for a treaty with her and her son—Mary being content with honourable retirement in England and the nominal honours of sovereignty—on neither part was there any sincerity in the negotiations ;[1] and Elizabeth, having discovered that James had really no interest in his mother's liberation, or desire for association with her, thought it unnecessary, meanwhile, to trouble herself greatly about effecting an alliance with either.

The inability of James to obtain an honourable arrangement with Elizabeth decided him to make his escape on June 27th, 1583, from the Protestant lords at Falkland to St. Andrews, after which, Lennox having shortly before this died in France, the chief management of himself and his affairs fell into the hands of Captain James Stewart,

[1] See especially "Sommaire du traicté" in Teulet, iii. 229-41 ; Details of Beale's negotiations are included in his papers in the Calthorpe MSS. and are given in his letters to Walsingham and Elizabeth in the Record Office.

now created Earl of Arran and recognised as the chief of the Hamiltons and second person of the kingdom. Like Lennox a bold and unscrupulous schemer, Arran possessed a more formidable personality, and his sway over the King was less that of affection than that of a dominating will. But if, brother-in-law of the late Knox though he was, little disposed to brook the political tyranny of the Kirk, he was no friend of Mary or the Catholics; and whatever advice he may have given James about lending an ear to proposals against Elizabeth, was doubtless given entirely in his own and the King's interests. All the while Elizabeth's negotiations with James and his mother had been proceeding, both were privy to a scheme—in part a continuation of the old one—of which the leading spirit was the Duke of Guise, for the liberation of Mary by foreign aid. The negotiations of James and Mary had partly interrupted it, but the escape of James from the Protestant lords did much to reinstate him in the favour of his mother and the Duke of Guise; and for reasons of his own, James professed a much more ardent interest in the scheme than he really felt. The design favoured was the landing of foreign troops in England, who were to be supported by a strong body of Scots and North of England forces.[1]

Whether the conspiracy would ever have assumed a definite shape is hard to say, but its execution, when the opportunity for it was most favourable, was suspended by the arrest of Sir Francis Throckmorton, who, on behalf of the gentlemen in the North of England, had been in

[1] See instructions to Richard Melino sent by the Duke of Guise to Rome, and instructions of the Duke of Guise to Charles Paget, in *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, pp. 503-6.

communication with Paget, and who, on being put to the torture, confessed enough to implicate Philip and the Duke of Guise. His revelations led to the severance of diplomatic relations with Spain, and the expulsion, in January, 1584, of the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, from England. The design was renewed, so far as concerned deliberations, in the spring,[1] but the insuperable difficulty to anything more than this was Philip, whose interest in it was merely feigned. While, therefore, on May 1st, instructing de Tassis to give the most positive assurance that he had no intention to abandon the enterprise,[2] and, on May 29th, instructing him to keep "the intermediaries" in hand, he evidently preferred to regard it mainly as a distant possibility: the "intermediaries" were to be "neither rash nor despairing," but to take care to build on "a sound foundation";[3] and before this foundation could be laid, it would, in his opinion, be necessary that the Pope "should find ways and means through his holy zeal to do much more than any one has yet imagined."[4]

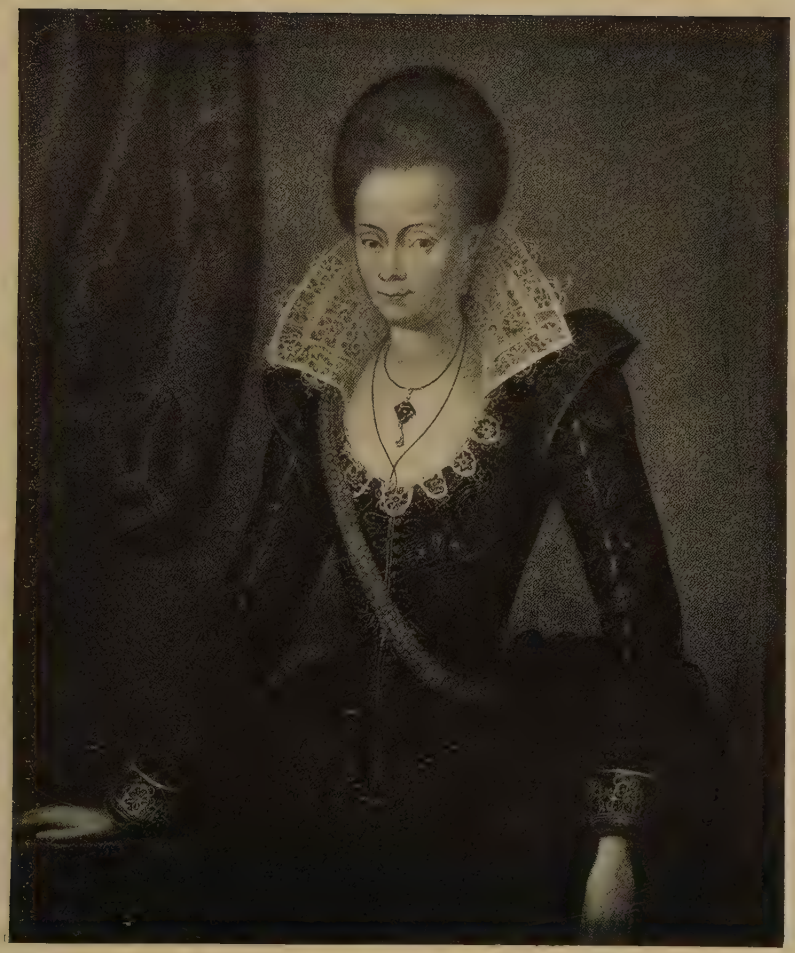
In the spring of 1584 Mary had, through Castelnau, been seeking to blind Elizabeth by resuming negotiations for a joint treaty with her and her son. In these Elizabeth manifested but a languid interest until the failure of the second Gowrie conspiracy, which, through Walsingham, she had been doing so much to foment. On its failure Beale was again sent to enter into what appeared to be a serious consideration of the matter, but Elizabeth being mainly influenced by the changed situation in Scotland and the

[1] See de Tassis to Philip, April 18th, in *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, pp. 521-25; Teulet, v. 325-35.

[2] Teulet, v. 335-6.

[3] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 527.

[4] *Ibid.*, 528.



From the picture by Van Somer.

LADY ARABELLA STEWART.

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desire to obtain from James the pardon of the rebel lords, Mary was in nowise disposed to fall into her trap, and the negotiations were abruptly terminated.

In the midst of her engrossment with matters of high political moment, Mary had also been concerned about a scandalous rumour in regard to certain love passages between her and the Earl of Shrewsbury. In a letter to Castelnau, of January 2nd, 1584, she asked him to intimate to the Queen and Council her indignant protests against the wrong and injury inflicted on her by such groundless calumnies.[1] The scandal had its origin partly in the ambitious views of the Countess of Shrewsbury as to Arabella Stuart, partly in a private quarrel between her and her husband on other matters.[2] As is evident from Mary's frequent reference to the rumour in her letters to Castelnau during the whole of the spring, she was much perturbed lest it should lead to her transference to a stricter guardianship. Notwithstanding her protests, she was unable to induce Elizabeth to take any action, and finding, after her transference on September 6th to Wingfield, to be under the care of Sir Ralph Sadler and Somers, that Elizabeth, instead of probing the matter to the bottom, was virtually assuming the truth of the calumny, she, on October 18th, asked Castelnau, in her name and in the name of the French king and her French relatives, to require that Elizabeth and her Council should proceed against the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons, Charles and William Cavendish, as the authors of the calumnies; and she intimated her resolve, should proper satisfaction not be rendered her, to set down in a memorial, for the perusal of all the Princes

[1] Labanoff, v. 395.

[2] *Hatfield Calendar*, part iii. pp. 158-162.

of Christendom, article by article of all the calumnious tales told her by the Countess of Shrewsbury against Elizabeth.[1] That she was also fully prepared to do what she threatened, an astonishing letter of hers remains at Hatfield to testify. Whether this nauseous and coldly gleeful recital[2] represents the actual statements of Lady Shrewsbury or not, it was too maliciously clever to permit the Council to persevere longer in their attitude of passivity. There is no evidence that Elizabeth was subjected to the strange sensation of perusing it: most likely it was transmitted under cover to Cecil, who at once recognised the necessity of the Council taking action to afford Mary the satisfaction she demanded; and a denial of the truth of the rumour against her was procured from the Countess and her sons.[3]

Much gratified by the triumph of her son over the rebel lords, Mary in July sent Fontenay, brother-in-law of Nau, on a special mission to him. Among his other errands was to procure the punishment of Lord Lindsay, to whom Mary had sworn, as he was conducting her from Carberry, that she would have his "head for this." James readily promised that he should have "exemplary punishment," but allowed him to keep his head, merely sending him to Tantallon; and, indeed, neither in this nor in other matters—however profuse and warm his professions[4]—did he do much to gratify his mother's ardent anticipations. Notwithstanding his protestations that he would be to her a good and loyal cavalier, and the conviction of Fontenay that he loved and honoured her

[1] Labanoff, vi. 36-42.
[2] *Ibid.*, 51-7.
[3] Teulet, iii. 326.
[4] Letter, July 22nd, *Hatfield Calendar*, part iii., pp. 46-7.

much in his heart, Fontenay was greatly astonished, as he well might be, that he never asked him a single question about his mother—neither of her health, nor of her treatment, nor of her servants, nor of her mode of life, nor of her recreations.[1] The sad and sober truth was that James had no interest in his mother's fortunes except so far as they bore on his own : his mind had been poisoned against her from his infancy ; he knew that his views and hers in regard to politics and religion were never likely to coincide ; and he would have much preferred, had that been possible, to have ignored her existence. But since he could not do so, she more and more assumed to him the guise of a rival whom it was necessary to baffle ; and of this Fontenay and she were soon to have startling evidence.

[1] Letter, July 22nd, *Hatfield Calendar*, part iii., p. 60.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DÉNOÛMENT

BEFORE Fontenay's long and interesting account of her son's character, habits and surroundings reached Mary, that "old young man," as Fontenay designates him, had already entered into communications for an agreement with Elizabeth on his own account; and through the Master of Gray, the negotiations were to assume a form that was to involve the betrayal both of Arran and Mary, and, in a manner, of James himself. The hero of this notable episode, the Master of Gray, one of the most finished products of the Catholic schools of intrigue, had for many years resided in Paris, and having, soon after his arrival there, been introduced to Mary's ambassador, Beaton, came to be recognised as one of the ablest and most trusted agents of him and Guise and the Scottish Queen.

On October 3rd, 1583, Sir Edward Stafford reported to Burghley that he had gone to Scotland, with "great stores of chalices, copes and other things belonging to the Mass to spread abroad in Scotland"; and after returning to Paris to convey to Scotland the young Duke of Lennox, with whom he landed at Leith on November 13th, he took up his residence at the court of James, as the secret agent of Mary and the Duke of Guise in connection with the visionary schemes for an invasion of England. Reputed

After a picture at Windsor Castle.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

the handsomest man of his time, and possessing charms of wit and manner that were to secure him the intimate friendship of Sir Philip Sidney, for whom he came to conceive a quite romantic attachment, it was inevitable that Gray should very soon acquire great ascendancy over the King. Unhappily, however, he did not turn his influence with him to the account that Guise and Mary had fondly anticipated. So far from this, while at the Scottish court his political predilections gradually underwent a complete transformation. None could better gauge than he the obstacles in the way of the success of what was termed the "Great Conspiracy," the difficulty of properly adjusting and unifying its complex details, and also of overcoming the half-heartedness of James, the dubiety of Philip, and the backwardness of the Pope. That he should have come to the conclusion that it lacked the possibility of triumph, and that the cause of Mary was really lost beyond redemption, is in no way surprising. Sir Edward Hobey, who had long enjoyed his acquaintance, remarked that *incendium gloriae* prevailed much with him.[1] He would gladly have acquired glory as the knight of Mary Stuart, but the possibility of any such result in her service being now but faint, he proposed to acquire it—for to him, as to other political adventurers of the time, the path to glory was often that of shame—either in the service of James or Elizabeth, or both; and he was all the more ready to abandon his old patrons, in that the new prospects that were thus opened up to him far exceeded in splendour those within his reach, as the subordinate agent of Guise and Mary. His past life and his former associates having been what they were, the stepping-stone to advancement under

[1] *Hatfield Calendar*, iii. 71.

his new auspices was necessarily betrayal; and fortune further decided that his treachery should be of a somewhat comprehensive and variegated character. Having betrayed Mary and Guise to James and Arran, it was decided by his new patrons that it was needful for him to be the medium of betraying Mary to Elizabeth; and being on that errand deputed ambassador to the English Queen, he found that necessity was also laid upon him, both on his own behalf and that he might succeed in his errand, to betray Arran, and also, though in a manner for the good of James, James himself.

The purpose of Gray's mission, on which he set out towards the end of October, 1584, was to obtain the extradition or expulsion from England of the Protestant lords, lately in conspiracy against James, and to propose, without reference to Mary, a defensive league between England and Scotland.[1] In order to persuade Elizabeth to this, and as a proof of the good faith of James and Arran, it was proposed that Gray, thoroughly conversant as he was with the whole network of intrigue on Mary's behalf, should expound its outs and ins to Elizabeth. Sir Edward Hobey assured Burghley that Gray, an he would, could "tell tales," and that if his "bias were turned," he would prove "a fit instrument for her Majesty's service and safety." His proposed revelations became, however, of less moment on account of the capture, in September, of Father Creighton on his way to Scotland to endeavour, at Mary's instance, to accomplish the young King's conversion: from a paper, the fragments of which were discovered as Creighton was in the act of destroying them, and his subsequent confessions, the English Council were already pretty well

[1] Instructions in *Gray Papers*, p. 11.

versed in the latest phases of the "Great Conspiracy." Gray was thus now very much in the position of proposing to carry coals to Newcastle; his revelations were deprived of their value as a discovery, as well as of their importance as a pledge of the good faith of James and Arran. Finding, therefore, that Elizabeth was indisposed to trust Arran, and was bent on the return of the Protestant lords, as the only adequate guarantee of the young King's sincerity, Gray, while inducing Elizabeth to gratify James and Arran by issuing an order for the Protestant lords to retire from the frontiers of the kingdom, returned to Scotland in the special service of Elizabeth, and on the secret errand of promoting Arran's overthrow; which, with the aid of the banished lords, was finally effected in November, 1585.

Meantime Mary was under the impression, or at least the fervent hope, that the mission of Gray to England was mainly on her behalf. Gray, who had been in correspondence with her, had deemed it prudent to seek to blind her as to his real intentions. He intimated that, for tactical reasons, it had been arranged that James should simulate an independence of any association with his mother; but Mary was not to be deceived by any such glamour, and in a letter of October 1st intimated to him that she could not approve of the expedient: it would, she said, merely arouse Elizabeth's suspicions as to her son's good faith; or if Elizabeth came to the conclusion that they were divided in their intentions, she would find it less needful to come to terms with them.[1]

As yet Mary had not, however, begun to suspect the good faith of Gray, and she therefore sent him instructions "pour adjouster à celles qu'il a de mon filz."[2] Even after

[1] Labanoff, vi. 14-27. [2] *Ibid.*, 28-32.

the capture of Creighton, and when, owing to her change of guard and residence, she did not expect to enjoy much longer the liberty to write and receive letters, she had apparently not given up hopes of the success of the "Great Conspiracy," and still supposed that Gray and her son were devoted to it; and she was urging those who had it in hand that it should be forwarded with all diligence, without consideration of any personal danger she might incur. "I have," she wrote, "not received a groat of the 12,000 ducats promised to myself, and my son has only had 6,000 of the 10,000 promised to him, wherefore he is much grieved and annoyed. He is, however, not less well inclined to our enterprise than before, or less willing to be guided by me in all his affairs. He is about to dispatch a gentleman of his, named Gray, to the court of England, the principal object, however, being that he should visit me for the purpose, conferring with me verbally on the decision relative to our business. This gentleman is a Catholic, and I hope to God they will allow him to speak with me."[1]

Was this Mary's real belief as to the object of Gray's errand, or was she trying to blind Philip as to its real character, or was she waiting to see how the cat would jump? Was it her aim with the help of her son to come to a real arrangement with Elizabeth? Or did she hope to obtain such terms from her as would facilitate the designs for her overthrow? And was she holding Philip in reserve lest the treaty with Elizabeth should not come off? These questions are more easily asked than answered. Very soon she began to concentrate her aims on a treaty with Elizabeth in association with her son; but to

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 529.

THE LYTE JEWEL, CONTAINING A MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF JAMES I. (THE WADDESDON BEQUEST, BRITISH MUSEUM).

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this she was greatly instigated by the apprehension lest Gray and her son should forestall her. Castelnau was so sanguine as to suppose that since Mary was sending Nau to treat, and since Gray was on his way from James with a like purpose, Mary's long and wearing captivity would soon be at an end.[1]

On the faith of these hopes of Castelnau—hopes founded on an entire misunderstanding of the situation—Froude[2] concluded that Elizabeth, at this time, had all but determined to grant Mary her liberty, while the sad and stern fact was that never had Mary's fortunes been more desperate, never had her outlook, though as yet she did not quite realise this, been blacker. The revelations of Creighton, following on those of Throckmorton, must have prejudiced the advisers of Elizabeth against her almost beyond possibility of cure; and with these revelations supplemented by later ones of Gray, to have placed any faith in the sincerity of any professions Mary might make would have been sheer lunacy. Had Gray refrained from betraying her, and James insisted on her inclusion in the treaty, her case might not have been utterly hopeless; but, again, the insistence of James on this, if such a thing is conceivable, might have led Elizabeth to conclude that he and his mother were alike seeking to deceive her. At any rate James, who had been at least toying with the "Great Conspiracy," found it expedient, through Gray, to convince Elizabeth of the sincerity of his repentance, by renouncing his mother and all her works. On the supposition of his final sincerity, the Scottish danger would be almost at an end. Not only, therefore, would it be unnecessary to come to terms with Mary; to have granted her terms that would

[1] Teulet, iii. 324. [2] *History of England*, cab. ed., xi. 504.

have involved a form of liberty, would have simply created a new peril. Frantic as were Mary's efforts for recognition as a party to the Scottish negotiations with Elizabeth, they were thus of no avail ; and her offers of compromise, which, if sincere, amounted to a betrayal of Catholicism, were disregarded.

Before Nau's arrival on Mary's behalf in London, Castelnau had gathered from the attitude of Gray, notwithstanding his assurances as to the entire devotion of James to his mother's interests, that the purpose of James was to come to an understanding with Elizabeth on his own account.[1] Gray, in the face of Mary's remonstrances, persisted in this purpose, his plea being that after Elizabeth and James were entirely agreed, and on thoroughly cordial terms, it would be easier to conclude a negotiation for Mary's liberty. But even if James and Gray were sincere in these professions, they implied the relegation of his mother and her interests to an entirely subordinate position ; and when she protested that whoever should advise her son to come to an arrangement with Elizabeth from which she should be excluded was a perfidious traitor to her, and that if her son persisted in doing so, she would denounce him, as an ingrate, to God and all the Princes of Christendom, Gray calmly advised her against "giving way to violent courses."[2]

Base and impudent though Gray's counsel was, it might possibly have been better for Mary to have taken, or have pretended to take, her disappointment more philosophically ; but this she was not then in a mood to do. Her last chances of freedom, or at least freedom with sovereignty and without humiliation, seemed to be slipping away from

[1] Teulet, iii. 325. [2] *Papers of the Master of Gray*, p. 11.

her. France, Philip, the Pope, the English Catholics had all alike failed her. They had conferred, promised, encouraged, and in a manner plotted, but somehow they had achieved nothing, or rather they had succeeded only in compromising her, and rendering her lot harder and more hopeless than before. She had begun to build a good deal on her son's friendly feelings towards her : he had expressed his approval of the "Great Conspiracy," and even seemed to be anxious to be recognised as the chief champion of her cause. Surely he would not allow her to bear in her captivity the main punishment of the conspiracy's failure : in her despair she was now turning to him as almost her last earthly help ; a few months ago she was even sanguine that, by means of the now captured Creighton, he would be led to forsake his dubious Protestantism and see eye to eye with her in ecclesiastical matters. Could he then intend, after all, entirely to ignore her sovereignty and definitely usurp her throne? Did he purpose to betray her to her enemy, and deliver her over to hopeless durance ? At first blush, it might well seem incredible. But if he did mean her well—if his intentions were not merely to repudiate her—he was making, she was convinced, a terrible mistake ; and she was determined to do her utmost to prevent it being made. Her efforts to commend herself to her inveterate foe, Elizabeth, and to induce her to include her with her son in the treaty which she supposed Elizabeth to be now concluding with him, were piteous in the apparent abjectness of their eagerness. Owing to the discovery of the late conspiracy against Elizabeth, a band of association aimed mainly against the Scottish Queen was formed for Elizabeth's protection, in which it was declared that the success of such a plot would not only invalidate the title

of any pretender to the crown on behalf of whom it was made, but would render such pretender liable to death. Being excluded from such an association, Mary not only, on January 5th, 1585, made a declaration of adherence to it,[1] but on the same date she sent a letter to Beaton to intimate to all her relatives, friends, and dependents that whatever enterprise they might intend against Elizabeth should be renounced.[2] Further, she also, on the same date, issued from Wingfield a declaration that on the advice of the King of France, Catherine de Medici, and her other relatives and friends, she had determined to associate her son in the crown of Scotland, and to transfer to him the administration of its government, that the offer had been accepted by him, and that she had now arranged for the appointment of a commission to complete the transaction. At the same time she also expressed to her son her astonishment that Gray should have ventured, in his name, to negotiate a Scottish treaty with Elizabeth without mention of her;[3] and from an undated letter to Fontenay we also learn that about this time Elizabeth had reproached her of "infinite things" that she had written to her son and those near her, and that she was convinced that Elizabeth's informer could be no other than Gray.[4]

Shortly after Mary issued these declarations, Elizabeth significantly transferred her, on January 13th, to the strong, if unhealthy and uncomfortable, castle of Tutbury; but Mary—full of inward rage and alarm though she must have been—acknowledged this peculiar attention of her host in polite and even cordial terms, and expressed her entire confidence in Elizabeth's efforts to promote her

[1] Labanoff, vi. 76-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, 77-83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, 80.

welfare and comfort, which efforts, she hoped, on her part, to merit.[1] Her endeavours to open up communications with her son being met with cold silence, she entreated Elizabeth to permit some one to go as deputy from her in order to arrange matters with her son, so that a treaty might be completed for her liberty, which, she piteously said, was now the only thing that could give her spirit and body comfort, worn out as she was by the prison afflictions of seventeen years.[2] At last, in the beginning of March, she had her son's reply, denying that he had agreed to any "association" in the crown with her, and declining to be included along with her in a treaty, on the ground that she was in captivity in England. Even then, she tried to persuade herself that his betrayal of her could not be so complete as it seemed. In a letter to Castelnau of March 12th, she expressed the conviction that since the communication—both in substance and manner—was inconsistent with his duty, obligations and professions, she could regard it only as a *chef d'œuvre* of the impious scoundrel Gray; but she asked Castelnau to intimate to Bellenden, the Scottish Justice Clerk, that if her son persisted in identifying himself with such sentiments, she would invoke on him the malediction of Heaven, and, besides giving him her own, would disinherit and deprive him—as an unnatural, ingrate, perfidious and disobedient son—of all the grandeur to which he was otherwise heir.[3] But if James—inspired and sustained by Arran and Gray, and tempted by hopes of Elizabeth's favour—had proved deaf to the appeals of his mother's affection, he was not likely to be moved by the terrors of her curse. Still less, also, was it to be expected that Elizabeth should now be

[1] Labanoff, vi. 86-7. [2] *Ibid.*, 99. [3] *Ibid.*, 123-7.

prompted to perform the pious work of reconciling the differences between mother and son. Rather must we suppose that she watched the dispute between them, and the hopelessness of their reconciliation, with a certain grim satisfaction, and even glee; and, as matter of fact, though Mary knew it not, she had by no means as yet made up her mind to come to terms with the son, far less to include the mother in the proposed arrangement. A proposal of Mary for a separate treaty with her that would at least allow her to retire from England to "some solitary place of repose,"[1] was also still less likely to commend itself to her consideration. Indeed any chance Mary had of coming to terms with her royal jailor had been destroyed by the recent detection of the assassination scheme of Parry, a friend of Morgan, Mary's most confidential agent.

It was thus at last brought home to the captive Queen that deliverance from her thraldom through an arrangement with Elizabeth, or by the good offices of her son, was really past praying for, and when, in April, 1585, she was placed under the charge of the severe and rigorous Puritan, Sir Amyas Poulet, her heart must have been seized by a sickly apprehension of utter undoing. From the *Letter-Books* of Poulet[2] we are supplied with sufficiently detailed information to enable us to obtain a pretty correct idea of Mary's situation under the care of this vigilant and relentless guardian, who at his first interview bluntly declared to her that he would not be diverted from his duty "for hope of gain, for fear of loss, or for any other respect whatsoever."[3] Of what he meant by his duty, Mary was also soon to have very definite and unpleasant

[1] Labanoff, vi. 133. [2] Edited by John Morris, S.J., 1874
[3] *Letter Books*, p. 9.

After a picture in the collection of the Earl of Poulet.

SIR AMYAS POULET.

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experience. Elizabeth having now practically dropped all pretence of any intention either of doing anything to promote the interests of her involuntary guest or of ever permitting her to leave England, she could not but know that that guest would be more difficult to detain than ever—that the guest and the guest's friends would stick at nothing in order to achieve her liberty. But for Elizabeth's absurd pretence of treating her prisoner with all the consideration due to a sovereign in distress, it would have been much more convenient to have removed her to the Tower ; but such a step would have aroused a storm of foreign indignation that Elizabeth was not prepared to face. The task therefore devolved on Poulet of turning Tutbury into a kind of rural "Tower," so far as security and severance from communication with the outside world were concerned. By a system of elaborate precautions, he gradually succeeded in preventing any kind of secret intelligence reaching his prisoner from her friends, or her friends from her : if she sought to break the monotony of her confinement by outdoor exercise of any kind, a guard was in close attendance on her ; if she remained indoors, her prospect was confined to the back yard ; she and her attendants might, in private, talk over their wrongs and griefs and hopes to their hearts' content, but even the engagement of new attendants was avoided as much as possible, lest they should bring with them any intelligence of importance,[1] and no stranger from the outside world was permitted to enter into converse with the Queen.[2] But for the one avenue of communication through the

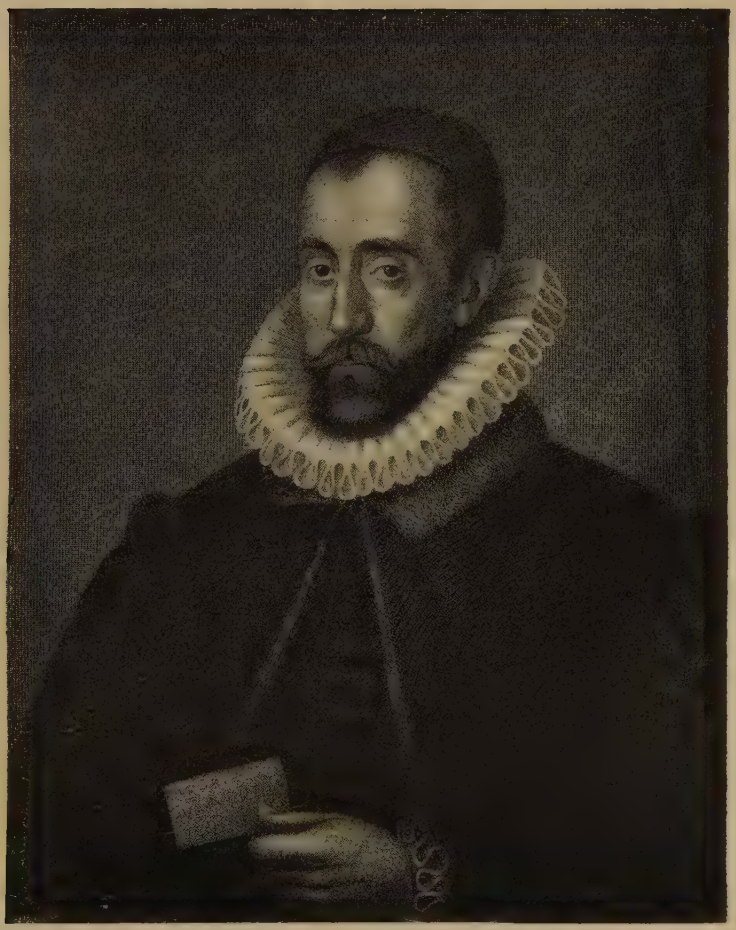
[1] *Letter-Books*, p. 126.

[2] "No gentlewoman or other woman of this country hath had access to this Queen sithence my coming to this charge." Poulet to Walsingham January 10th, 1585–6, in Poulet's *Letter-Books*, p. 125.

French ambassador, of which she was later deprived, she might have been living in the moon, for all that was known to her of the doings of the world outside the radius to which her confinement was limited. "I will never ask pardon," wrote the scrupulous and resolute Poulet, "if she depart out of my hands by any treacherous slight or cunning device, because I must confess that the same cannot come to pass without some gross negligence, or rather traitorous carelessness: and if I shall be assaulted with force at home or abroad, as I will not be beholden to traitors for my life, whereof I make little account in respect of my allegiance to the Queen my sovereign, so I will be assured by the grace of God that she shall die before me." [1]

After nearly a year of wearying monotony at Tutbury, Mary, in December, 1585, was, on account of her continued ill-health, permitted the favour of a change of residence to rather more comfortable quarters at Chartley, some twelve miles distant. Here her ruin was to be consummated. In October, Gilbert Gifford had obtained from Mary's agent, Morgan, late contriver of the Parry assassination plot, and still a prisoner in the Bastille, credentials which enabled him, in the capacity of Walsingham's go-between and spy, to supply facilities of communication to Mary by which she became involved in the plot known as the Babington Conspiracy. Morgan's letter in favour of Gifford was received by Mary at Chartley in January, 1585-6; and to her intense joy she now found that by the aid of the brewer who supplied the house with beer, all the elaborate precautions of Poulet could be seemingly set at naught, and that the long break in the communication with her friends had ceased. With what eager rashness

[1] *Letter-Books*, 49.



After a picture formerly in the collection of the Duke of Dorset.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

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she welcomed the news that deliverance and triumph were coming to her at last, the sequel was soon to show. Certain details of this final plot, about which there has been much dispute, seem to me to be immaterial to the main issues. These issues are the nature of Elizabeth's and Walsingham's conduct, the guilt of Mary, and the amount and character of that guilt. Whether it was Ballard or Gifford who was the agent employed in inciting Babington to organise that part of the conspiracy which included the assassination of Elizabeth, is a matter of minor moment, for Ballard, Gifford, and Morgan were all concerned in its contrivance; and Gifford—over whom Walsingham probably had a hold on account of his knowledge of his connection with Morgan—was utilised to incite Morgan whom Walsingham knew to be the director of the assassination movement. Gifford had only to supply Morgan with his chance, and, sooner or later, Morgan would find his man. Moreover, it was actually Gifford—and not, as Froude mistakenly supposed, Ballard—who in August, 1586, was commissioned by the conspirators to give Mendoza particulars of the plot in order to secure Philip's co-operation;[1] and he told Mendoza that the only persons privy to the assassination scheme were himself and Babington and two of the principal leaders.[2] We must therefore suppose that Gifford, besides supplying Morgan with his opportunity, aided him with his counsel and encouraged him and Babington to the best of his ability.[3] Having got Babington to write to Mary,

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580–86, pp. 603–8. [2] Teulet, v. 371–9.

[3] In his communications with Walsingham it was necessary for Gifford to be very discreet. It would never have done for him to have informed Walsingham of his direct connection with the conspiracy—that connection must be understood.

his work was finished, the *dénoûment* was at hand; it was necessary for him now to leave England, otherwise Walsingham could not avoid seizing him as well as Babington. This would have suited Walsingham as badly as it would have suited him; for it was needful to conceal Walsingham's part in encouraging the conspiracy, which was fundamentally of a double-faced kind—directed, it is true, by Morgan, Ballard, and Babington against Elizabeth, but also by Walsingham and Gifford—and, with more fatal effect—against Mary.

On the other hand, the elaborate attempts to prove Mary's innocence of all knowledge of the assassination side of the conspiracy seem to me as vain as they are needless. Her situation was now well-nigh desperate—indeed utterly desperate, as regards everything that made life to her worth living, unless by hook or by crook her friends could effect her deliverance. Nor was her despair that of unsoured and ingenuous youth, nor of a short and sudden kind which might yet find its assuagements: it had been accumulating for some eighteen years, and, under the hard regulations of her present guardian, it had reached an almost intolerable climax. Moreover, it was the despair of one whose character, by virtue of many peculiar experiences, had undergone that kind of demoralisation which readily inclined it towards the dismal delights of revenge. Whatever had been her faults and blunders and crimes, she had been terribly tried, bitterly humiliated, and, at least in her own opinion, basely betrayed and foully wronged. All these experiences had been hers before she fled to Elizabeth's protection; and by Elizabeth she had been trapped, duped, baffled, patronised, lectured, trampled over, mortified and morally

tortured beyond all forgiveness. Had she been a weak, dull, puling, amiable nonentity—a mere worm—she might not have turned; she might have deprecated recourse to any expedient for her rescue that would endanger the life of her professedly gentle, well-meaning and long-suffering host. But Mary had fathomed Elizabeth perhaps more completely than Elizabeth had fathomed her. Elizabeth, it may be, supposed Mary was as hard and cold as herself, which the headstrong and impulsive Mary was very far from being; but Mary could hardly exaggerate the hardness and coldness of Elizabeth, who was ready to sacrifice any one—even her best benefactor—in order to turn an awkward political corner. Mary could never have made her a friend, but she was admirably adapted for rousing Mary's bitterest feelings of dislike. Mary surpassed her in the capacity of hate, as she did in the warmth and sincerity of her friendships; and in the later period of her life this capacity had had exceptional opportunity for development. She was not accustomed to turn her other cheek to the smiter. She openly rejoiced at the assassination of Moray and the execution of Morton, and can we suppose that her joy would be less if her arch enemy Elizabeth were, by the surest of all methods, removed out of her path? But we are not left to mere speculation as to what she would or would not do. When she learned that the murderous intentions of Morgan's friend Parry had been detected, she had but to command Morgan not to think of again having recourse to such methods on her behalf, and the life of Elizabeth would henceforth have been as safe as, if the modern expression may here be allowed, the Bank of England. The truth is that the Catholics of those days

would have laughed to scorn the principles of Mary's modern Catholic defenders. Thus we find Mendoza describing the project for Elizabeth's assassination as worthy "of spirits so Catholic and of the ancient valour of English men," and assuring the conspirators that if they succeeded "in killing the Queen," they should have all the assistance and succour they needed from his master: while the godly Philip II., in reply to Mendoza's communication, piously affirmed that "we must trust that our Lord will prosper it"—and by "it" he especially meant what he termed "the principal execution"—"unless our sins are an impediment thereto."[1]

But apart from this, the evidence that Mary knew of the proposal to assassinate is overwhelming—much more so than was made manifest at the trial. It cannot be denied—though she denied it—that she was in communication with Babington, who was specially recommended to her by Morgan. Nor is it possible to doubt that she received the letter from Babington announcing the assassination scheme; and most likely the reason why she received it was that Gifford took care that she should; and if she did reply, and did not give—as Phillips, the interpreter, wrote Walsingham he expected—her "very heart,"[2] or whether, as Mary's faithful champions suppose, Phillips found it needful to interpolate clauses that would make her "very heart" evident, her silence would have been interpreted as consent. Her general principle, as implied in her own statements, was to allow her friends to have recourse to what measures on her behalf they deemed most likely to succeed; but in this case, as we

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, pp. 607, 614-5.
[2] Poulet's *Letter-Books*, p. 224.

learn from her letter to Mendoza of July 27th, she sent to the principal leaders a full statement of her opinion "on each point" of the design. Further, she informed Mendoza that she had ordered them to send one of their number to him "with all speed," to whom he was to give as full credit as if she had directly sent him herself;[1] and the person referred to was of course Gifford, who was charged to inform Mendoza of the assassination scheme. Well might Mendoza, on learning of the discovery of the plot, write to his master, "I am of opinion the Queen of Scotland must be well acquainted with the whole affair, to judge from the contents of a letter which she has written to me."[2] But while writing thus to his master, he also informed him that he had let it be known that he scorned the thought of advising any of Elizabeth's subjects to "conspire against her life, she being their sovereign and a woman."[3] Of this unscrupulous lie Philip doubtless fully approved; and therefore it is nowise surprising that Mary—fighting for her life—denied all knowledge that any such attempt was in contemplation; but the way she put it to Mendoza—who doubtless perfectly understood her—in her final letter, was this: they "said that in any case, I should not die for religion's sake, but for having tried to murder the Queen, which I denied as a great falsehood, for I had never attempted such a thing, but had left it in the hands of God and the Church to order in this island matters concerning religion."[4] This was in a manner true: though Mary was not so passive as she represented; and, indeed, with a view to incite Philip to take up her cause, she had on May 20th written to Mendoza that in case her son,

[1] Labanoff, vi. 433.
[2] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 624.
[3] *Ibid.*, 673.
[4] *Ibid.*, 663.

before her death, should not submit to the Catholic religion (of which, she significantly remarked, she saw small hope), she would make over by will to his master her right in the English succession.[1] Still, she left the method of her deliverance very much in the hands of Philip and her Catholic advisers: her friends, with the sanction of Philip and the Pope, who were more interested in themselves or religion than in Mary, decided that the assassination of Elizabeth was the best preliminary to success, and she merely, without the slightest scruple, acquiesced in their decision.

What of special interest remains in the few months of life now allotted to Mary is condensed into three main scenes: her apprehension—if so it may be termed—her trial—if also it may be so entitled—and her execution. On August 8th Sir Amyas Poulet informed his royal guest that Sir William Aston, of the neighbouring mansion of Tixall, had sent him an invitation to a stag hunt and had expressed the hope that the Scottish Queen would grace it with her presence and honour the company by performing the concluding rites. The original invitation was for the 12th, but, on account of bad weather and intervening sacred days, the supposed occasion was postponed until the 16th.[2]

Mary, as we learn from a letter of July 17th to her "good Morgan," was now in remarkably good health and spirits: I thank God, she wrote, that He "hath not yet set me so low, but that I am able to handle my crossbow for killing of a deer, and to gallop after the hounds on horseback."[3]

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580-86, p. 581.

[2] *Journal inédit de Bourgoing* in Chantelauze, *Marie Stuart, son Procès et son Exécution* (1876), p. 466.

[3] Labanoff, vi. 426.

But the Tixall fête was a special occasion, and promised a quite delightful break in the monotony of her Chartley sports. On the beautiful August morning, therefore, the Queen and her chief attendants—her two secretaries Nau and Curle, Melville her master of the household, Bourgoing her physician, with Bastian Pages carrying her cloak and Annibal her bows and arrows, "tous" says Bourgoing, "à cheval et en honneste appareil pour luy faire honneur en une prétendue compagnye[1]"—were gaily cantering towards Tixall park, when Poulet, who with his guard had been keeping well in the rear, rode quickly forward to the Queen, and informed her that the gentleman she saw waiting in front of her was Sir Thomas Gorges, a gentleman pensioner of Elizabeth, who had a message to deliver to her. Dismounting from his horse, Sir Thomas, with all due respect, presented himself before her, and stated that the Queen had learned, to her great astonishment, that she had been conspiring against her and her state, and that since the guilt of two of her servants had been proved, he hoped she would not take it ill if he separated them from her; and he referred her to Sir Amyas Poulet for further explanations. This was unpleasant enough news, but still, it was all a little indefinite, and since Mary could not have the faintest notion that her whole correspondence and that of her friends had been carefully deciphered for Walsingham before being sent to its destination, she, apparently with perfect readiness, answered Elizabeth's official that she had never thought of such a thing, and that in whatever way Elizabeth had received the supposed information she must have been misled. But of course all thought of a pleasant day's sport was now at an end,

[1] Chantelauze, p. 467.

and indeed the direction of the journey was immediately altered by Sir Amyas, who was now riding in front.

Naturally Mary, inwardly rather dazed, took for granted that they were on their way back to Chartley ; but when they had proceeded a mile or two, her attention was drawn to the fact that they must be bound for a new destination. Suddenly it was brought home to her that the worst must be known, or would be, should search be proceeding at Chartley. She had had in her lifetime many bitter surprises : not to mention more, the murder of Riccio, her reception by the lords after the surrender at Carberry, Elizabeth's *volte face* when she fled to her for protection ; but the present surprise was perhaps the most overwhelming of all, and for a time she entirely lost her self-command. Indignantly leaping from her horse, she sat down on the ground, refusing to proceed, and protesting and threatening much as she had done during the terrible ride to Edinburgh. But the irritating incentive of insult and contumely was now absent. Poulet, if inflexible, was soothing and persuasive, and gradually recovering herself, she at last set out, defiant but comparatively calm, towards her temporary quarters at Tixall.[1]

On August 25th Mary returned to Chartley, to find that every scrap of writing left there had been removed. Noticing, as she set out, the crowd of poor people at Tixall gate, she cried to them, weeping, " I have nothing for you, I am a beggar as well as you. All is taken from me," and observing the large force of horsemen that had been assembled to guard her on her journey, she rode up to the leaders, and exclaimed, also with tears, " Good

[1] Compare d'Esneval to Courcelles, October 7th, in *Letter-Books of Poulet*, ed. Morris, pp. 263-4, with *Journal de Bourgoing* in Chantelauze, pp. 469-75.

gentlemen, I am not witting or privy to anything against the Queen." On her arrival at her old quarters, much emotion was shown both by her and her servants, for, apart from the sympathy generated by traditional feelings of loyalty, all her dependents were bound to her by the peculiar affection inspired by the knowledge that she took a sincere and generous interest in all that concerned their welfare. It was curiously easy to induce Elizabeth's attendants to conspire against her: it would have been almost impossible to induce any of Mary's attendants so to conspire. "She visited," wrote Poulet, "Curle's wife (who was delivered of child in her absence), before she went to her own chamber, willing her to be of good comfort, and that she would answer for her husband in all things that might be objected against him." The priest having been removed, and the lady's child remaining unchristened, Mary proposed to utilise the services of Poulet's Protestant chaplain to get it baptised, and this being refused by her much astonished guardian, she still further amazed him by entering the distressed lady's chamber, where she took the child on her knees, and casting water on its face from a basin, solemnly said, calling it Mary, "I baptise thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." "This," adds the scandalised Puritan, "may not be found strange in her who maketh no conscience to break all laws of God and man."[1] The incident is certainly not without its significance. Besides a sincere desire to comfort the poor woman in her great trouble, it seemed to indicate a strange disregard of the ecclesiastical assumptions, with which her life was so curiously associated.

Mary must now have dreaded the worst for Curle

[1] *Letter-Books*, pp. 275-6.

and Nau, and what her own fate was to be must have given her much uneasy pondering. At first there was some intention of bringing her to the Tower, when of course her name would have been added to the notable roll of political offenders, including Norfolk, who had bidden adieu to the world on the historic hill; but privacy—and, had that been possible, secrecy—was the policy which commended itself to Elizabeth, now faced with the delicate task of depriving of her life the dowager sovereign of Scotland. It was therefore determined to send her to Fotheringay; and Fotheringay became the place both of her so-called trial and of her execution. Elizabeth, for her own sake, if not for Mary's, would doubtless much rather have been spared the necessity either of trying or executing her. Though she made no promise, she, conceivably, might have spared her life, had she confessed; but, on the other hand, it is by no means certain that she either would have, or, in the temper of the Protestants, could have spared her; and, at any rate, when Poulet hinted to Mary that her better course would be to confess, she received his suggestion with amused contempt. Her answer being repeated to Elizabeth, the Council almost immediately decided to bring her to trial; and, after much preliminary fencing, Mary at last agreed, in "order to prove her goodwill," to answer to the accusation which touched on the life of the Queen. Her examination on this—which, notwithstanding her explanation, the commissioners made to assume the form of a trial—took place in the great hall of Fotheringay, on October 14th and 15th, Mary thus being brought face to face with many English nobles whom she at one time hoped might have become the pillars of her English

After a drawing by the Rev. H. K. Bonny.

THE CHURCH AND CASTLE HILL, FOTHERINGAY.

The Castle was completely destroyed by order of King James I. The only vestige that remains is a great misshapen block of masonry

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throne. The details of this farcical proceeding—farcical on both sides, because Mary was really being tried, not for her attempt on Elizabeth's life, but for being the Catholic rival of a Protestant Queen ; farcical also not merely because it was being conducted without a proper observance of legal forms and a proper regard to the interests of the accused, but because it was in essence a mere illegality, the climax of the illegality involved in Mary's detention in England—need not long detain us.

Mary bore herself throughout the exasperating ordeal with faultless tact and dignity ; her acuteness was never for an instant astray ; to a hostile suggestion, however formidable it might appear, she never lacked a clever reply ; friendly persuasion, eloquent appeal, pathetic remonstrance—she made each serve its appropriate turn ; and her personal advantages and grace of manner must have redoubled the effect produced by her varied forensic skill. But the rub was that her case was merely hopeless—hopeless on the evidence in possession of the commissioners, and more hopeless still because it was deemed of prime importance that she should be found guilty. Moreover, the wholesale character of her denials only tended more certainly to seal her fate, as they also do to prove her guilt. To take, for example, a cardinal point—while she declared that she could not be held answerable for the actions of Morgan, that he was no pensioner of hers, etc., we know all about her correspondence with Mendoza on his behalf ; and the commissioners were in possession of at least that portion of the correspondence between her and Morgan preserved at Hatfield. And in regard to the still more important point of Nau's evidence, while she very cleverly insinuated that Nau took a great deal

upon him without sufficient sanction from her, and must have been led by fear to confess what was untrue, she, as we know, though the commissioners did not, wrote to Mendoza, not that he had confessed falsely, but that he "had confessed everything." [1]

The farcical proceedings being ended, Mary repeated her old demand, made at the time of the Darnley inquiry, to be heard in full Parliament and to confer personally with Queen Elizabeth; but the demand was never vainer than now. At Elizabeth's request the court was prorogued for ten days in order that Elizabeth might consider the commissioners' report; but at a resumed meeting of the commission in the Star Chamber at Westminster, on October 25th, she was in her absence found guilty of having "contrived and imagined, since the 1st of June aforesaid, divers matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Queen of England." Thereupon both Houses of Parliament presented to Elizabeth an address declaring that the only possible means of securing her safety was by the just and speedy execution of the Queen of Scots. The various shifts to which Elizabeth—not to spare her rival, but to avoid the responsibility and odium of consenting to her death—had recourse, are too well known to need recapitulation here. The truth was that in any case Mary's death was inevitable—inevitable from the time that Walsingham set his trap for her; though the long hesitation in carrying out the sentence probably inspired Mary with some hope that, after all, Elizabeth might intend merely to disgrace and not to kill her. But when at last, on

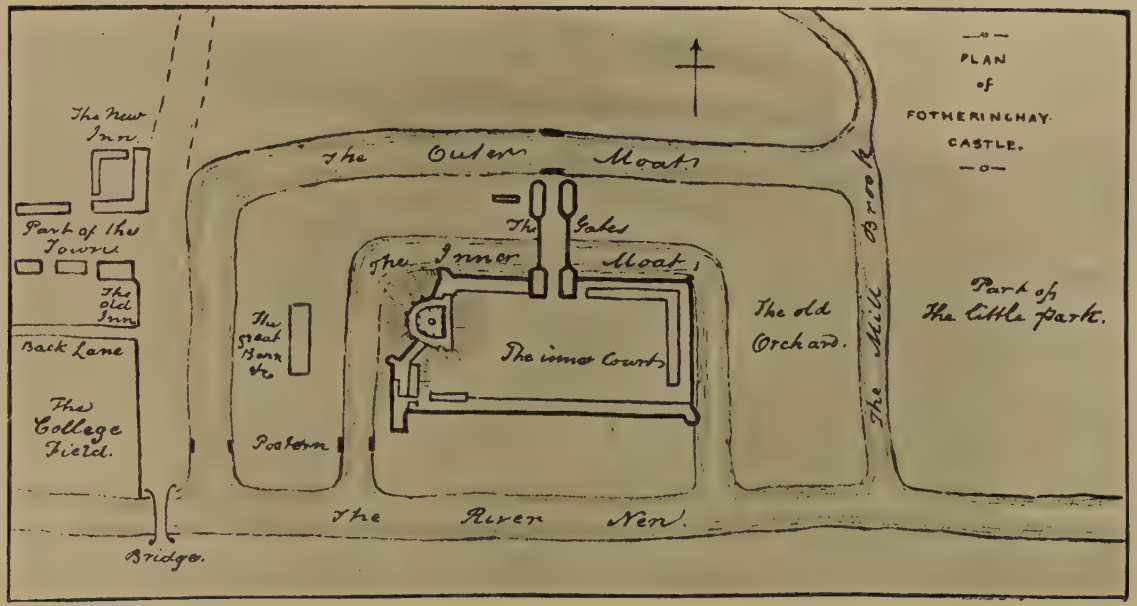
[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1580–86, p. 663; compare the account of the trial in *State Trials*, i. 1162–1227, with the journal of Bourgoing in Chantelauze, pp. 513–39.

After a drawing in the British Museum.

THE SITE OF FOTHERINGAY CASTLE.

February 7th, she learned that Kent and her old friend Shrewsbury, the Grand Marischal, had arrived at the castle, she knew that a definite decision in regard to the question of life and death had been attained. Elizabeth had at last got her officials to recognise that they ought to know her wishes without direction from her; and the balance had swung in the direction of death. The communication, which was made to Mary shortly after dinner in the presence of her physician and her lady attendants, she received with remarkable self-possession, defending her conduct at some length, and expressing her content and even happiness that while "she was so soon to be freed from so many miseries and afflictions," God had "given her grace to die for the honour of His name, and for His Church, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman." As she was to die on the morrow, small time was allowed her for the arrangement of her affairs and for preparation for her ordeal, but her composure enabled her to do all that had to be done with perfect discernment and fitness.

It was inevitable, Protestantism being what it then was, that Mary should be denied the privilege of priestly consolation and help; and an effort was even made, on the scaffold, almost to compel her to accept the consolations of the new form of religion. Her last moments were therefore mainly occupied in an unseemly contest between her and Elizabeth's ecclesiastical officials; but the unseemliness was wholly on their part, not on hers. Her unassailable dignity and superb invincibility made their efforts recoil on themselves; and at last she was tacitly permitted to act as her own chaplain, which she did with admirable nerve and great elocutionary effect. The only



PLAN OF FOTHERINGAY CASTLE.

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consequence of their vain attempt was to give point to her contention that she was being executed not for having sought to compass the death of Elizabeth, but for religion's sake ; and at least it may be said that with this contention her bearing was in triumphant keeping.[1] There was also more than a little truth in her contention, though with the religious question others were inseparably commingled. Perfectly faithful to her supposed religious convictions and ambitions she had not been ; but whatever the nature of the value she set on the form of religion with which her life had been so peculiarly associated, she had had sufficient cause to be now, at the end of it, an enemy to Protestantism. She had inevitably become a great and conspicuous victim of the relentless Christian dispute, this partly by reason of her early associations and training, partly because of her rivalry with Elizabeth. Thus, in the eyes of the Catholics, her death was bound to assume the aspect of martyrdom ; and since, so long as she lived, there seemed always a chance that, through her, Catholicism might in Britain again become triumphant, her martyrdom came to be regarded as one of the most mournful events in British Catholic annals. How far this appraisement of the pitiful occurrence is justifiable need not be discussed—all the more that in such a case sentiment is but little affected by reason ; but it may be admitted that her execution was occasioned mainly by the deadly hostility

[1] The contemporary accounts of Mary's execution agree in the main details. Among the principal are those by "R. W." [R. Wynkefielde] and Thomas Andrewes in Labanoff's *Lettres Inédites*, pp. 246-7 ; *La Mort de la Royne d'Écosse* in Jebb, ii. 609-70 ; *Le Vray Rapport*, in Teulet, iv. 153-64, and the journal of Bourgoing in Chantelauze, already referred to. Other accounts are included in the appendix to the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott's *Tragedy of Fotheringay* (1895, second ed. 1905), which also contains a detailed and notably sympathetic account of Mary's last hours.

between the two so-called forms of what was supposed by the partisans of each to be a supernatural Christianity. She must thus, on the whole, be ranked amongst the countless victims that throughout the ages have been immolated on the devouring altar of Christian intolerance. But the causes that determined her immolation were complex and manifold. Chief among the direct promoters of it were of course Knox, Moray, Elizabeth and Cecil, but they had many indirect coadjutors such as the Cardinal of Lorraine, Catherine de Medici, Darnley, and Bothwell—to name but the more conspicuous; while the part which Mary herself played in effecting her own undoing attracted the whole world's attention. Yet, however prominent were certain of her faults and weaknesses, it is at the same time plain that she was by no means lacking in excellent gifts and graces, or even in characteristics that were generous and noble; and on closer consideration her imperfections and mistakes become dwarfed into insignificance as the determining causes of her failure, by reason of the ascendant influence in her life of what may be termed fate. The task assigned her—assigned her by virtue of her royal birth—was, in itself, an all but impossible one, and its difficulty was aggravated by such a variety of accidental circumstances that a chance was hardly left her of escape from signal calamity. Indeed the accuracy with which events worked together in shaping her career towards disaster, renders it one of the most poignant examples of historic tragedy. It is this ascendancy of fate, this supremacy of the purely tragic element in her life that confers on it its unique and abiding interest; and we must therefore believe that as the old rival ecclesiastical watchwords of which she was so conspicuous a victim more and

From an old print.

THE NORTH PROSPECT OF PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

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more lose their significance, the loud approval or disapproval of rival disputants in reference to her career will gradually give place to the fitter emotions of pity and regret.

* * * * *

The body of Mary, after undergoing a rude form of embalmment, was placed in a leaden coffin to await the decision of Elizabeth as to how it was finally to be disposed of. This problem, apparently, was as puzzling to her as had been the problem of Mary's execution, for which she made a comical attempt to disown responsibility. She may not have known of Mary's desire to be buried in France beside her first husband, Francis II. ; but even if compliance with this desire was hardly, in the peculiar circumstances, to be expected, to have adopted it was the only course compatible with Elizabeth's pretences. On critical occasions Elizabeth, however, often manifested quite a genius for maladroitness ; and after a long interval for consideration she decided that her victim, with all the "princely obsequies" consonant to "her high degree," should on August 1st be laid to rest in Peterborough Cathedral, beside Catherine of Arragon. On the accession of James to the English throne, the remains were removed to Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey, where an elaborate monument, with recumbent effigy, is made to testify to a filial regard which was too dilatory to be of any avail to the mother whose memory it professes to honour.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE CASKET CONTROVERSY

In his *Papal Negotiations*, Father Pollen printed a remarkably interesting letter of Mary to the Duke of Guise, undated, but probably written in the evening of January 5th, 1561-2. While the letter is valuable on account of its purport, Father Pollen further directed attention to it as serving as a test of Mary's orthography. "Students of the Casket Letters," he wrote,[1] "agree that certain copies of Letters III., IV., V., VI. and IX. (the Sonnets) may be called the original French of those letters.[2] But any one who applies to these documents the spelling-tests given above will at once acknowledge that they are not in the spelling used in this autograph letter."

At the same time, Father Pollen admitted that, before any conclusion could be safely drawn from such premises, it would be necessary to broaden the field of observation; and, in addition to this, except that Father Pollen had this particular letter before him, there was no reason for making it, more than another, serve as a test of Mary's orthography. Apparently Father Pollen was influenced by the consideration that he believed it to be "perhaps unique as an example of a genuine love-letter." A "love-letter" it, however, is not, though dictated by strong affection to her uncle, and written under a certain pressure of emotion; and it can hardly even serve as a "model of the

[1] P. 534.

[2] If students of Casket Letters are now at one on this point, it was not so in 1889, when the present writer found it needful (in the *Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots*) to deal with the arguments of Goodall, Hosack, Skelton and others.

style" we might expect in a veritable love-letter, though it makes it evident that the famous Letter II. might very well have been written by Mary; while the omission of the signature has a significant bearing on a peculiarity of the Casket Letters that has caused much speculation. But the fact that it was written under emotion was not likely greatly to affect the orthography, except perhaps to make it a little more careless than usual. As an orthographical test, a letter written about 1567 would be much more "invaluable" than one written in the beginning of 1562.

As matter of fact, in original letters of later date many of the orthographical features of this letter are reversed; and it may be that Father Pollen, when he began to broaden his "field of observation," noticed something of the kind, although in his introduction to *Queen Mary's Letter to Guise*,[1] he repeats that "the tables of characteristic spellings found in this autograph will at once prove that these so-called 'original' letters are not *literatim* Mary's composition." But even if this be granted, it is only of negative consequence, for Father Pollen has discovered that the orthographical peculiarities of the letter, are, unhappily, of no value whatever as a test of the Casket Letters.

In those times of orthographical license, copyists made no attempt to preserve accurately the spelling of the originals. "Scribes," writes Father Pollen, "wrote their own script and kept to their own peculiar abbreviation and spelling quite mechanically"; and he might have added that amateurs were nowise careful to preserve uniformity in their methods of spelling. In any case the following illustration sufficiently disposes of the orthographical difficulty in the way of accepting the genuineness of the letters. "Amongst," so writes Father Pollen, "the Mary Stuart Papers seized just before her trial, and now at the Record Office, there are a few examples of her autograph drafts, and at their side are now bound up the secretarial fair copies. The letters are made without the least consideration of her characteristic spellings." "No conclusion therefore," adds Father Pollen, "can yet be drawn from the premises regarding the authenticity of the letters."[2] That is true enough; but according to the Journal of the proceedings of the Hampton Court Conference of December 14th,

[1] *Scottish History Society*, (1904), p. lxiii. In this volume the letter is reproduced in fac-simile.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxiv.

the Casket Letters were "duly conferred and compared" with letters written by Mary to Queen Elizabeth, not only for the manner of writing but the "fashion of orthography."[1]

The hope, on orthographical grounds, of discrediting the Casket Letters had thus hardly been faintly formed when, like so many other hopes of the kind, it disappeared. As it therefore happens, the remarks of Father Pollen in regard to the character of the handwriting are far more pertinent to the question at issue, though their pertinence he has failed fully to recognise. "The forms of the letters," he says, "are a little stiff at first, as if they had been made with a fresh quill, but soon the curves become round and full, and the words flow from the pen with the greatest facility. In the first half of the letter, indeed for nine folio pages, the writing betrays no signs of fatigue. Then indications of weariness begin to show themselves. They abound on the last page, which she finished so tired or sleepy, that she has forgotten to sign her name."[2] And he proceeds to give a minute and interesting description of the varying peculiarities of the penmanship, which any one can verify by glancing at the facsimile version of the letter. Yet, strangely enough, he ignores the very evident bearing of this on especially the genuineness of the remarkable Letter II. of the Casket.

Regarding the Casket Letters, Mr. Lang, in Appendix II. to Vol II. of his *History of Scotland* (p. 568), remarks:—"In the case of the Logan-Gowrie letters we find such an extraordinary example of skilled forgery, by a rural practitioner in a small way of business,[3] that a successful imitation of Mary's large Italian hand seems well within the resources of the art. Examples which, probably, would deceive any modern critic were designed by Mr. F. Compton Price, and are published in the author's 'Mystery of Mary Stuart.' It seems possible that even if the original Casket Letters were to be discovered, and

[1] Mr. Lang (*Mystery of Mary Stuart*, p. 231), while correcting Mr. Froude in regard to the question of "collating," which probably refers to the checking of the copies with the originals, assumes, on no evidence whatever, that the "duly conferring and comparing" was a "hasty examination." Why should "duly" be interpreted as meaning "hastily"?

[2] *Papal Negotiations*, p. 531.

[3] This "extraordinary example," etc., Mr. Lang, in his *Mystery of Mary Stuart* (p. 231), describes as "clumsy forgeries." Which of the two descriptions does he prefer?

compared with Mary's authentic handwriting, we might come no nearer to a solution of the problem; though in the Logan case, the forgery is detected."

On Mr. Lang's interesting experiment Father Pollen remarks: "No doubt it proves what it was meant to prove. There is no antecedent impossibility of forging Mary's writing. His expert, however, took as his model Mary's later writing, when her strength was breaking down under stress of sickness, and the ceaseless miseries of her captivity. The strokes are very different from the graceful, flowing, girlish curves of the letters now before us."[1] Yet, notwithstanding his minute and careful analysis of the influence both of emotion and fatigue on the penmanship of the Guise letter, Father Pollen makes no reference to the fact that Mr. Lang's illustrations are doubly inapplicable to Letter II. All that Mr. Lang has supplied us with is a very limited example of mere mechanical forgery; an example which entirely avoids the special and complex difficulties of penmanship which a forger of Letter II.—with its varying moods, its exhibitions of ardent passion, and its symptoms also of weariness—would have to overcome. Moreover we have clear indications that, forged or not, signs of fatigue as well as quite other symptoms were manifested in the penmanship. "Excuse my evill writing" [I quote the English translation], writes Mary or the forger, apparently just before concluding the evening's penmanship; and immediately afterwards, "Excuse also that I scribbled, for I had yesternight no paper when I took the paper of a memorial," which scribbling must have been in a careless penmanship. By the "evill writing" we cannot understand a bad imitation of her handwriting, but a penmanship indicating, or meant to indicate, the gradual progress of mental and bodily fatigue; while, be it remembered, various portions of the letter would have to be in a free and flowing hand, and there are besides, throughout the letter, many changes of mood—calm, passionate, despairing—which would be more or less mirrored in the penmanship.

Again, in another part of the letter we have, "Excuse it if I write yll * * * bot [the Scots translation seems here the more accurate] I cannot mend it, becaus I am not weil at eis; and zit verray glaid to wryte unto zow quhen the rest are sleipand," etc.; and, a few paragraphs further, "I am weary and am a sleepe ['am sleepy'], and yet I cannot forbear scribbling so long as there is any paper." All that is here

[1] *Queen Mary's Letter*, p. lxv.

indicated, the forger—if forger he was—would have to make manifest in his penmanship: so that Mr. Lang's mechanical examples tend—notwithstanding his instructive purpose—rather to darken than illumine counsel. However well Mary's "large Italian hand," or at least that of her later years, may be shown to be "within the resources of the art of the forger," an imitation of the proper penmanship for Letter II. would tax—or rather, may we not say, hopelessly overtax—the most accomplished exponent of it. Indeed, it is hardly conceivable that a thoroughly expert forger—one who properly recognised the difficulty of the task he was setting himself—would tempt Providence by such a hazardous experiment.

So far therefore from there being any presumption against the genuineness of the Casket Letters, on account of the ease with which Mary's hand could be imitated, the presumption, owing to the peculiar character of Letter II., is all the other way. Should Mr. Lang's researches be finally crowned by the actual discovery of the original Casket Letters, we must suppose that the problem of the penmanship "would be solved"; though I venture to affirm that the chances are all against any forgery being detected. But, of course, even had it been that, as regards penmanship, the forgery of all the Casket documents was a ridiculously easy task, instead of being, as regards at least Letter II., one of supreme difficulty, the potency of the evidence—internal and external, direct and circumstantial—for their genuineness may be overwhelming. As to the convincing character of this evidence, Mr. Lang is as yet, or rather is now, unable to make up his mind; or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he brings to bear all the resources of his splendid ingenuity to discover a weak point in the evidence for their genuineness, and that, after all, it is by no means certain—to say the least—that he has been able to convince himself that he has actually found it.

It is not, I trust, doing Mr. Lang any injustice to affirm that he would very much prefer to discover that the Casket Letters are forgeries, and that so far as he is convinced of their genuineness, he is convinced against the general bent of his sympathies. To read his book with any degree of profit, to understand approximately its drift and intention, it is needful to bear these considerations in mind. On the other hand, while I have no reason to be prejudiced in favour of Mary's accusers, I quite admit that before I read Mr. Lang's book I was a convinced believer in the genuineness of the Letters; and what I

profess here primarily to do is to state the case for the genuineness *versus* the novel and notable argument of Mr. Lang.

The "open-mindedness" of Mr. Lang, in not only making certain important admissions but in going out of his way to remove certain apparent obstacles to the acceptance of the genuineness of the Letters, has impressed certain of his critics; but possibly the attitude referred to might be better termed "wide-awakeness." On the question of the Casket Letters he has been intermittently engaged in conducting a masterly retreat: he gives up no position so long as there is a feasible chance of defending it, and defending it with advantage to his general argument; and he sometimes gives it up, in order to effect an ingenious manœuvre that he hopes may baffle and bewilder the enemy. Thus, for example, he not only admits, but seeks to prove, by a method of his own, that there is a possible chronology for Letter II.; Major Martin Hume, by, he states, a different method of reasoning from that of Mr. Lang, has come to Mr. Lang's conclusion; I also came to that conclusion, and many other writers have. In fact, to disprove the chronology of Letter II. is an impossibility: and that it cannot be harmonised with the erroneous chronology of the so-called *Cecil's Journal* is proof rather of its genuineness than the reverse, as it indicates that it could not have been forged in order to harmonise it with that Journal. Mr. Lang, then, not only recognises that the old chronological objection of Hosack and others is untenable, but he retires from this position with a perfectly light heart and even with a flourish of trumpets; his retreat from it is mainly strategical; for he has arranged to promulgate an entirely new theory about the letter—or its supposed twin brother—which renders an objection to its chronology a matter to him of minor importance.

What, then, is the present position of Mr. Lang's belief in regard to the genuineness of the Casket Letters? This—apparently from strategical reasons—he in effect leaves us to discover; his answers are so various and so indefinite that it is by no means easy to locate him; but, by careful reconnoitring, his whereabouts may at least be surmised. In his preface to the *Mystery of Mary Stuart* (1904 ed.), he tells us that "the author's opinion is now more adverse to the complete authenticity of the Casket Letters than it was, for a variety of reasons which appear in the text." It will be observed that, unhappily, he refrains from stating (1) how much his adverseness now amounts to, (2) how little it formerly amounted to, and (3) when

and where he stated how little it amounted to. Possibly he may refer to a remarkable article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which he commenced by expressing his strong conviction in the genuineness of the letters and ended by expressing an entirely opposite opinion; but since these two opinions were published simultaneously, the earlier one, strangled just as it appeared in the form of a statement, can hardly be said to have blossomed into a full existence.

However that may be, one would be disposed to infer from the 1904 edition of the *Mystery of Mary Stuart* that though more adverse than he at one time was to the complete authenticity of the letters, Mr. Lang is not adverse to their partial authenticity; but, if after the perusal of the volume, we are able to arrive at this conclusion, it is after much laborious pondering; and it might be risky to bet upon it. He conveys the impression that he is either unable to form a definite opinion, or prefers not to state it; and indeed, in avoiding the statement of an opinion as to the authenticity of Letter II., he displays an intellectual nimbleness that is more astonishing than instructive.

In one place we almost seem to have him, as thus: "But that parts of Letter II. are as genuine as compromising I can hardly doubt," and "I can scarcely feel able to believe in a forger so clever" (258); but later he "turns a corner, jinkin," and quite eludes capture, for these almost definite opinions dwindle down to:—"On the whole these reasons are the strongest for thinking the Letter in part probably genuine" (261); and "The question is one of the most delicately balanced probabilities. Much of the letter provokes suspicion, but, on the other hand, part of Letter II. seems beyond the power of Forgery to produce. Perhaps the least difficult theory is that Letter II. is in part authentic, in part garbled." How amazingly impartial; but how entirely elusive! "Most delicately balanced probabilities"!

But probabilities as to what: whether as to complete, or as to partial authenticity? Surely not as to partial authenticity, after the admission that certain portions "seem beyond the genius of Forgery to produce." That admission seems to imply the almost impossibility of the total forgery theory; but be it observed, Mr. Lang does not state that the theory of partial authenticity is even the most probable one, or that it is so much as the least difficult one, but—mark the delicately balanced probabilities!—"perhaps the least difficult." However, there is just a possibility that he may mean that our only choice is between

partial authenticity and complete authenticity, and that it is here that the "delicately balanced probabilities" come in; and on this point I prefer to give him the benefit of the doubt, for the external evidence, inseparably connected with a firm conviction of his own, renders a belief in the theory of complete forgery utterly untenable.

On the supposition either of mere garbling or complete forgery, Mr. Lang is of opinion—without any balancing of probabilities—that "whoever held the pen of the forger, Lethington must have directed the scheme"; and his favourite theory—or rather, his absolutely essential theory—is that Mary "held Maitland in hatred as the blackest of traitors," because he directed the forgery. If he did direct the forgery, she certainly must have utterly hated him. Mr. Lang's opinion that she did so is based mainly on the narrative of Nau,[1] which he assumes "came directly from Mary herself." But whether the narrative be mainly Nau's, or whether it be practically Mary's, its most significant feature is that it contains not the slightest allusion to the Casket Letters, notwithstanding that Mary's authorship of several of them, including the famous Letter II., had been flaunted publicly in her face and in the face of Catholic Europe, by the translations of them appended to Buchanan's *Detectio*, and that—if we are to believe what Mr. Lang for his theory's sake deems it advisable to express in language of even startling potency—"the proofs of her detestation are found throughout the MS. of her secretary, Claude Nau, written after Lethington's death." Mr. Lang, it will be seen, is not inclined to mince matters about the hatred: indeed we might suppose from the above description that the main aim of the narrative was to express the Queen's detestation of Maitland; but then, in this connection, Mr. Lang does not so much as refer to Nau's or Mary's astounding omission of all allusion to the main cause of the supposed hatred—the forgery of the Letters. There is evidence that Mr. Lang has observed the omission, for he makes a cursory reference to it in another connection; but it apparently never occurred to him to ask the reason of this marvellous reservedness about the Letters.

Only a moment's consideration is necessary to realise that the point is a cardinal one, and that it is quite fatal to the theory of complete forgery, and, possibly, even of partial forgery. The case

[1] Ed. Stevenson (1883).

stands thus: either (1) Mary utterly detested Maitland because he tampered with the Letters, but avoided stating fully the cause of her hatred, black though it was, because they were fatally compromising before he tampered with them, or (2) Nau's narrative gives—as in fact it does—entirely other reasons for whatever feelings of soreness are expressed by Nau, or Mary, or both, against Maitland, and this for the simple reason that neither Maitland nor any one else tampered with the Letters.

The probabilities—from what we otherwise know of Mary's relation to the murder—are that any such letters of Mary to Bothwell would be at least as fatally compromising as those which are asserted to be hers, and that no tampering or doctoring of any kind would be needed; and thus the Nau narrative, instead of lending support to the forgery theory, is absolutely fatal to the theory of complete forgery, and so far fatal to the theory even of doctoring that it does not even contain a hint of such a thing. But meanwhile the point need not be further pressed than this, that the internal evidence, Nau's remarkable silence, and other external and circumstantial evidence—well known to Mr. Lang, but which the avoidance by Nau of all reference to Maitland's supposed peccadillo renders it superfluous to consider—sufficiently establishes that a great part of Letter II., which is the cardinal one, must be genuine.

On the supposition that the letters were re-written so as to make them more fatally compromising than they originally were, Morton's Declaration—as Mr. Lang admits, or rather asserts—makes it evident that if forgery there were, at least both Sir James Balfour and Maitland must have been privy to it and that it must have been directed by one or other, or both, of them. On June 14th, Maitland—who on the 6th had fled to the Lords from his custody with Mary and Bothwell—had an interview of some hours in Edinburgh Castle with Balfour, who then held the castle for Bothwell and the Queen. On the 15th Mary surrendered at Carberry and Bothwell fled to Dunbar; by the 17th she was in the Castle of Lochleven; and on the 19th Morton, while he and Maitland were dining together, was informed by "a certain man" that some of Bothwell's servants had been seen entering the castle. Immediately thereupon Morton sent certain of his men to apprehend them as they left it. If the "certane man" was sent by Balfour, then Balfour acted with less cleverness than was to be expected of him, for Bothwell's servants—Hepburn,

the Parson of Auldhamstocks, Cockburn, brother of the laird of Skirling, and George Dalgleish—were permitted to leave the castle so quickly that Morton's men arrived on the scene too late.

The Parson escaped; Cockburn was caught, but nothing found on him; and it was only after much search that Dalgleish was found in a house of the Potterrow. He had certain papers of Bothwell in his possession, and on being next day put to the torture confessed that he had been also carrying a silver casket which he had hid under a bed in a house of the Potterrow. It was found there, and at eight o'clock in the evening it was brought to Morton, who kept it all that night. That a casket belonging to Bothwell was brought out of the castle by Dalgleish has never been denied. The day after it came into Morton's possession it was broken up in the presence of Atholl, Mar, Glencairn, Morton, Hume, Sempill, Sanquhar, the Master of Graham, the Secretary, the laird of Tullibardine, and Mr. Archibald Douglas, whose testimony—representing, as it did, Catholics as well as Protestants, and many whose probity in a matter of this kind is beyond suspicion—as to the character of the documents actually found in it, must be regarded as conclusive.

Mr. Lang, it is true, asserts (p. 228) that the list "adds nothing to the credibility of Morton's account." He actually supposes that Morton might have given a false list, because the accusers of Mary were not at the Conference to check him when he handed it in; but Morton had no guarantee that it would not be sent to them, or even to Mary; and since a copy has been found, it is plain that no secret was made about it. Further, says Mr. Lang: "Sanquhar and Tullibardine signed the band for delivering Mary from Lochleven; so much effect had the 'sichting' of the Casket Letters on *them*." Quite so: if they were prejudiced, they were prejudiced in Mary's favour; and like others, including Atholl, Home, and the Master of Graham, they finally returned to their allegiance; they were probably Catholics and recognised that, after all, Mary was being hardly dealt with.

If, then, the documents were forged, they must have been forged before Dalgleish left the castle with the casket, for they could not have been forged between eight o'clock on the evening of the 20th and the forenoon of the 21st; but, if they were not forged between these intervening hours, the deed must have been done between the 14th and the eventful 19th, when Morton and Maitland dined together in Edinburgh. Certain considerations, however, render this

supposition well-nigh impossible: (1) The documents would have to be taken from the casket and the castle to Edinburgh, where, after much pondering, the doctoring process would have to be undertaken —in the case of Letter II. an almost impossible achievement so far as concerns the penmanship—after which they would have to be sent back to Balfour's keeping that they might be placed in the casket to await the problematical arrival of Bothwell's servants to call for it, about which Balfour or Maitland, from the nature of the case, could know nothing; (2) the surrender at Carberry, at which Maitland was present, the transference of the Queen to Edinburgh and thence to Lochleven, deliberations with the Lords, and conferences with Mary, with the French Ambassador and others, must have so absorbed Maitland's time as to prevent him, during those eventful days, concentrating his thoughts on the perfecting of an elaborate forgery; (3) there is no indication, but the opposite, of precautions having been taken beforehand that the casket should fall into the hands of Morton; (4) there is the question of Maitland's friendly attitude to Mary to be afterwards considered; and (5) there is the fact that the key must have been in Bothwell's possession.

True, Randolph tells us that the box containing the band for the murder was opened: "This band," he says, "was kept in the castle in a little box covered with green cloth, and, after the apprehension of the Scottish Queen at Carberry Hill, was taken out of the place where it lay by the laird of Lethington, in presence of Mr. James Balfour, the clerk of the register and keeper of the keys where the registers are."[1] What truth is in this story it is impossible to say, but it implies that Balfour had the key of this particular coffer in his charge as keeper of the registers. For his own protection and that of his confederates against Bothwell he had presumably got the band placed under his own charge. So long as Bothwell was in power some importance attached to it in his and Maitland's eyes, or at least in his, since Bothwell's name was attached to it: on Bothwell's overthrow and flight it was advisable to get rid of it. But as to the contents of the silver casket, Balfour could know nothing. He could not have the key of it, for it was not official; it was Bothwell's own private property; and all that Maitland and Balfour were interested in, was the destruction of the evidence of their connection with the murder.

[1] *For. Ser.*, ix. No. 1,331.

That the documents were forged between the 14th and 19th—the only time at which they could have been forged—is thus in itself hardly credible; and while this is so, the fervent ingenuity and diligence of Mr. Lang in hunting for any smallest scrap of vague suggestion, that might indicate even the faintest possibility of Maitland's connection with the forgery, has been monotonously disappointing: no trace of the fox has been found in even the most likely coverts. We have already seen that while Mary must have hated Maitland to the death if he did forge the Casket Letters, Nau never so much as mentions them, and that of this astounding omission Mr. Lang makes no account. Equally remarkable is it that it has not occurred to Mr. Lang that Nau—who in lack of other evidence must be held primarily responsible for the character of his own narrative—could not have vindicated Mary without aspersing Maitland. The theory of the time in France was that the sovereign could do no wrong, and for Maitland to fail in allegiance to his sovereign, whatever his provocation, was doubtless in Nau's, as in Mary's, eyes a very heavy offence: to have represented him as other than a merely selfish politician would have implied a severe reflection on the character and conduct of his mistress.

But not merely does Mr. Lang take no account of Nau's dilemma; his theory compels him to mete out much harder measure to Maitland than Nau found it needful to mete out to him; for Nau had to maintain merely the thesis that Mary was innocent of all connection with the Darnley murder, while Mr. Lang has to maintain, and does maintain without scruple, that Maitland was so vile a person that hardly had she saved *his* life from Bothwell—though of course she was responsible for him being in Bothwell's clutches—than he immediately perpetrated a forgery against her, which menaced *her* life. To assist in corroborating this merely imaginary baseness, he—on the faith of an indefinite statement of Randolph, the value of which he himself in a foot-note practically discredits (p. 161), but which probably derived from a belief current in England, that Mary was saved from execution only by Elizabeth's interference—accuses Maitland of falsely giving himself out to Throckmorton as Mary's friend, while at the same time he was privately urging her execution (p. 172). Yet Throckmorton, who was in Edinburgh, never found out what, according to Mr. Lang, Randolph, who was not in Edinburgh, discovered. Neither did George Buchanan, Bishop Leslie, Lord Herries, or Sir James Melville, who, like Throckmorton, are of an entirely different

opinion from Mr. Lang. In fact, Maitland's infidelity was known to no one in Scotland; and even Nau (p. 57), in the teeth of Mr. Lang's contention, affirms that it was by Maitland and his friends that the proposal to put Mary to death was frustrated.

As to Mr. Lang's main defamation, not only does Nau omit all reference to the Letters, but so far from supposing that Maitland directed the forgery, he includes him with those who returned to their allegiance, and to whom, therefore, the existence of the Letters would be an entire inconvenience. Mr. Lang thus makes out Maitland to be a far more unconscionable villain than the selfish politician depicted by Nau—a villain, indeed, compared with whom the most lurid creation of the most sensational melodrama might be reckoned almost an angel; and yet on behalf of this unconscionable villain we find—a fact which has apparently escaped Mr. Lang's attention—Bateman, Shrewsbury's secretary, writing to Cecil on September 15th, immediately after news reached Mary at Wingfield of Maitland's accusation by Captain Thomas Crawford of the Darnley murder:—"Here is great care and pensiveness taken for Lethington, being as it is informed in great peril, and much earnest desire and wishes made that ye stand his good friend in this his extremity."[1] Is her extreme solicitude at all consistent with the utter detestation predicated by Mr. Lang, or with her belief that Maitland had forged the Letters, which were the damning evidence against her?

The next most notable argument of Mr. Lang in support of the Forgery theory, and Maitland's connection therewith, is, so he, intrepidly and without the least qualification, puts it, that the idea that Maitland was the director of the forgery "occurred to Elizabeth as soon as she heard the first whisper of the existence of the letters" (p. 292). This opinion is founded solely on a statement of de Silva in a letter to Philip: "I mentioned to the Queen"—he had learned it from the French ambassador—"that I had been told that the Lords held certain letters proving that the Queen had been cognisant of the murder of her husband. She told me it was not true, although Lethington had acted badly in the matter, and if she saw him, she would say something to him that would not be at all to his taste."[2]

But Mr. Lang takes no account of the fact, mentioned at the same

[1] *Scottish Papers*, ii. 675.
[2] *Spanish Papers*, 1558-67, p. 659.

time by de Silva, that Elizabeth was bent—for political reasons and on account of her high notions as to sovereignty—on obtaining Mary's release from Lochleven. She would therefore, in any case, diplomatically deny the existence of the Letters, or at least that they implicated Mary in the murder. She hints nothing as to forgery or as to Maitland's connection with forgery.[1] Her grudge against Maitland was that he had now joined the lords against the Queen, a fact which he had intimated to Cecil in his letter of June 21st. There is even a probability that Elizabeth knew nothing about the Letters when she spoke to de Silva, for when, a few days after de Silva spoke to her, she gave Moray "many remote hints upon the subject," he would tell her nothing about the matter.[2] This would seem, almost conclusively, to show that Elizabeth had had no official intimation about the discovery.

As for Mr. Lang's suggestion that the source of her knowledge—knowledge, be it remembered!—that Maitland was the forger, was Robert Melville, there are four sufficient answers: (1) Melville was not in Edinburgh at the time the casket was discovered; (2) he could not know what no one else knew, and what, if it were true, Maitland was bound, for his own sake, to keep secret; (3) there is overwhelming proof that both Robert Melville and his brother Sir James believed that Maitland was a sincere friend of Mary and wished to do the best for her he could; and (4) Melville was not in London when the messenger arrived with what Mr. Lang—on no sufficient evidence—takes for granted to have been information to Elizabeth about the Letters. Mr. Lang's original supposition was that the messenger was Robert Melville, who, according to Mr. Lang's assumption, setting out from Edinburgh on the 21st, reached London on the 23rd or 24th; and was actually at Berwick on his return journey by the 28th!

At Berwick on the 28th Melville, journeying from London, undoubtedly was; but it was pointed out to Mr. Lang that he was in London on the 21st. Mr. Lang therefore, while still retaining the old error in the index of the 1904 edition, now informs us that the lords "sent a messenger to Robert Melville" (p. 164); but he still makes—

[1] Misled by statements of Hosack and others, I, in *Casket Letters*, 2nd ed., 1890 (p. 31), remarked that Elizabeth had stated that the Letters were a forgery, but the publication of de Silva's letter in 1892, in Spanish State Papers, shows that she said nothing of the kind.

[2] *Spanish State Papers*, 1558-69, p. 665.

not Robert Melville, but—the messenger do the journey to London in the quite impossible time of two or three days. Elsewhere he has stated that Sir James Melville, when hastening south to intimate the birth of James VI., did the journey within about the same time; but Sir James actually took five days. Indeed Mr. Lang's supposition is a plain impossibility; and, even if it were not, we have the statement of de Silva that George Douglas, the messenger in question, who arrived on the 27th, went to speak to the Queen on the 28th,[1] by which time, we have seen, Robert Melville was at Berwick, whence he wrote to London, asking that the messages of the lords should be returned to him.

The only other scraps of external evidence that Mr. Lang's diligence has enabled him to offer us are (1) that Randolph in his letter referred to "somewhat more that we might say, were it not to grieve you too much herein," and that Cecil, on January 10th, 1571, "darkly writes to Kirkcaldy that of Lethington he 'has heard such things as he dare not believe'" (p. 299). These scraps have the special recommendation that they enable Mr. Lang, in a manner, to kill—if kill it be—two birds with each stone. They enable him to insinuate not only that Maitland forged the letters, but that both Randolph and Cecil knew that they were forged—in itself a most useful, but quite unwarranted, and, it may be affirmed, even preposterous assumption. Most likely Randolph referred, as is generally supposed, to the murder of Darnley; and Cecil, when he wrote to Kirkcaldy, had doubtless heard a good many things about Maitland which he would much rather not believe—as, for example, that he would not have objected, to say the least, to the success of the Norfolk conspiracy; but Mr. Lang, preoccupied with his theory, could hardly entertain other possibilities than those that might corroborate it. On the other hand, not even Mr. Lang has discovered any definite, distinct statement that Maitland was in any way connected with the forgery: there is not the faintest hint of any such thing to be found either in contemporary memoirs or pamphlets, or in contemporary correspondence, Scots, English, French, Italian, or Spanish. No one of his contemporaries, friends or foes, ever dreamed of supposing that he could have act or part in any such thing; and yet Mr. Lang assures us that if forgery there was, no other than Maitland could have been the director of it.

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1558-69, *p.* 654.

As regards internal evidence for Maitland's connection with the forgery, all Mr. Lang is able to adduce is a "curious coincidence between a Casket Letter, and Mary's instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane, in excuse of her marriage" (p. 298). He supposes that Maitland may have drawn up the instructions; but of this there is no proof; and Mary was clearly the only proper interpreter of her own conduct in consenting to marry Bothwell. On the other hand, is it likely that Maitland, if he invented or garbled Letter II., which according to Mr. Lang's special theory must have been done in Edinburgh in September, 1568, would retain a passage so suggestive of his and Moray's connection with the murder as the following: he [Darnley] "inrages when he hears of Lethington or of zow [Bothwell], or of my brother": Maitland and Murray were, that is, supposed by Darnley to be as hostile to him as Bothwell was.

But fascinating as is, in itself, the question of Maitland's character and political aims, it is unnecessary, for my present purpose, to follow Mr. Lang further in his eager pursuit of that great Scotsman's misdeeds—misdeeds which are vital to the existence of Mr. Lang's Forgery theory, but which would not suffice to prove it, were Maitland's character a thousand times blacker than he finds it needful to suppose it to have been. All that I have been concerned, meanwhile, to make out is that Letter II.—the cardinal letter of the series—cannot be an entire forgery, and that the attempt to implicate Maitland—who must be implicated if the existence of a forgery is to be maintained—in the forgery utterly breaks down.

The question now is as to the complete genuineness of Letter II. The main reason for doubting its genuineness has been that the portion of it which narrates Mary's conversation with Darnley at Glasgow corresponds so closely with a record handed in by Captain Thomas Crawford, a dependent of Lennox, as to show that possibly, probably, or undeniably—Mr. Lang, if nothing better is to be had, would even be thankful for the small mercy of a faint possibility—this portion of the letter is derived from Crawford's Declaration.

Should Mr. Lang utterly fail in his probation, then it is practically impossible for him to escape the conviction that Letter II. must be genuine; and once the genuineness of this letter is admitted, there is really nothing further to dispute about. The other letters compared with it are mere "leather and prunello." This then is Mr. Lang's whereabouts: his stupendous essays of ingenuity, his dexterous in-

sinuations, his specious suggestions, his semi-admissions, hesitations and elusive hedging are all exercised in defence of this final, isolated and practically hopeless position.

Mr. Lang omits to state with sufficient clearness and completeness what he is driving at. As a matter of course he gives you to understand that he is endeavouring to prove that Crawford's Declaration is the source of the Mary–Darnley conversation in Letter II.; but of the disastrous consequences to the Forgery theory if he cannot prove this, he says nothing. On the contrary, the desperate nature of his situation is so masked that the cursory reader may quite fail to realise that the Crawford Declaration is doubly vital; that while if, on the one hand, Mr. Lang can show that a portion of Letter II. may even possibly have been derived from Crawford's Declaration, the letter may conceivably be a partial forgery, on the other hand, if it contains information independent of Crawford's Declaration and other Lennox sources, this, and the convincing nature of other evidence, external and internal, renders it impossible to doubt its genuineness.

Mr. Lang's reliance on the strength of his arguments might to the superficial reader appear not to be quite constant. In introducing the novel theory by which he hopes to confound all the adversaries of the Forgery suggestion, he modestly professes to hazard it "without much confidence"; but, be it observed, he adds, "certain circumstances suggest that it may possibly be correct"; (p. 169) and this means a good deal more than one might at first suppose. When he proceeds to argue for his theory, there are no signs that he is "languishing in despair." His seeming initial diffidence is, for the most part, laid aside; but when he is least assuming he is on the whole most dangerous. For, be it observed, he really does not expect to *prove* very much: he has no hope of an "undeniably," even while, rhetorically, he swaggers "like a lord about his hall": he would, in fact, not be greatly cast down, could he assure himself that whatever might be said against his theory, there still remained the faintest possibility that it might be true. Should he be able—and here confidence makes him bold—to obtain a verdict in the faintest degree indecisive, then of course he would turn it—and in fact, while contending for more, and assuming that he has what he has not, he does attempt to turn it—to the best possible advantage; for his main purpose is to represent that the question must still be regarded as, in the words of Father Pollen, *sub judice*.

How then did the case stand immediately before Mr. Lang

discovered what he hoped might prevent him from hauling down his flag? The chief discoveries of recent years, which, corroborating and supplementing other evidence—that need not here be recapitulated—rendered wholly untenable the old position of the Forgery theorists were (1) that certain copies of the Letters were in the original French; (2) of the copy of Morton's declaration of June 21st, making known in what circumstances the Letters were "sichted"; (3) that early in July du Croc, the French ambassador, was furnished with a copy of the Letters; and (4) that Moray, on his way back to Scotland, gave an account to de Silva of a long letter which presumably was Letter II. These discoveries so supplemented the evidence previously available, that they seemed to prove beyond doubt that Letter II. was in existence before June 21st; but if that were so, not only that portion of it which corresponds to Crawford's Declaration, but that containing references to conversations with various other persons, must be regarded as genuine.

So much was Mr. Lang impressed with this new evidence, that nearly six years ago he commenced a paper for *Blackwood's Magazine*[1] on the subject by expressing the strong conviction that the letters must be genuine. But hardly had his pen finished these preliminary confessions, when—*Hey, presto!*—after the postman's knock, the door opened, and the tray with its fateful burden was brought towards him. Amongst its contents was a communication which, when it emerged from the envelope, immediately so engrossed his attention that we must suppose he, for some time, laid aside his busy pen; for its perusal gradually awakened the "auspicious hope" that the situation might yet be saved. The God-send came from Father Pollen, who, however, is nowise responsible for the use Mr. Lang has made of it. The new evidence, of which Mr. Lang obtained knowledge in this dramatical fashion, is derived from certain papers once in the possession of Lennox and now in the Cambridge University Library.

The documents are described in the University Catalogue of its MSS.; and they were examined by Father Stevenson, apparently while preparing the *Calendars of State Papers* relating to foreign affairs during the reign of Elizabeth. Why Father Stevenson neither included them in the *Calendar* nor referred to them, either there or elsewhere, is hard to understand; but we must suppose that if he had been

[1] December 1899.

convinced that they contained evidence tending to establish the Forgery theory of the letters, he would have made it known. But since they were neither calendared nor reported on by the Historic MSS. Commission, they were neglected by students of the period, until Father Pollen found references to them amongst Father Stevenson's papers: and their significance remained practically unknown until they were made use of by Mr. Lang in his *Mystery of Mary Stuart*.

The Lennox documents which here chiefly concern us are Mr. Lang's supposed "document of July–September, 1568" (p. 180), and a draft of Crawford's Declaration, both of which I have deemed it advisable to have printed, for the first time, in full.[1] The "document" includes a description of the same letter as that referred to by Moray in his conversation with de Silva; and what Mr. Lang now finds it needful to show is that both Lennox and Moray refer to a different letter than Letter II.—to a forged letter which was in the casket when it was "sichted" by Morton on June 21st, and which he also cannot avoid admitting must have been included amongst the letters given in the beginning of July to du Croc.

Further, the cardinal point of this astounding theory is this, that though a Scots translation of this same letter was placed in the hands of Mr. John Wood, who was authorised about the beginning of July to show it to the judges that "shall have commission of the matter," this same letter was dropped for another just before the York Conference in October. The theory, remarkable though it be, is not altogether original. It is a modification of that of Hosack. Hosack boldly affirmed that Moray's description to de Silva implied that Letter II. was then only in the process of forgery.

With the publication (1889) of a copy of Morton's Declaration and the discovery (1892) that copies of the Letters were given to the French ambassador within about a fortnight of the opening of the casket, the theory of Hosack, if theory it may be called, became more untenable than ever; and Mr. Lang having to contend with much more stupendous difficulties than even Hosack had to contend with, of necessity has to discover more subtle methods of overcoming them. "Hosack," he therefore tells us, "overlooked the possibility" that Letter II. might be "a genuine original on which the forgery is based" (p. 191). Certainly Hosack overlooked it; and he may have done so

[1] Appendix B and Appendix C.

because he lacked the expert dexterity of Mr. Lang. But then his case was not quite so desperate. Mr. Lang does not overlook it, for the simple reason—which he prudently keeps as much as possible to himself—that he cannot afford to do so. Not only so, but—astounding as it may at first sight appear—the almost total genuineness of Letter II., the genuineness of all its most damning parts, is essential to the existence of the "bloodthirsty" figment, which, according to the bright idea of Mr. Lang, was dropped, after whatever throes of misgiving, at much more than the eleventh hour.

The reader will now begin to understand why Mr. Lang so readily undertook to show the possibility of overcoming the supposed chronological difficulties of Letter II. He really could not afford to dispense with that letter, and this for the simple reason that it is essential, if he is to premise the existence of another letter which will enable him to prove that this same Letter II. is a forgery! But of course he would very much prefer to avoid such a terrible—surely well-nigh fatal—necessity, if by any means he could. His desperate efforts to utilise Letter II. for his particular purpose and then to get quit of it as soon as it has served that purpose, Letter II. all the while strenuously resisting, are indeed more provocative of smiles at his struggles, than conviction of his final success. Without the supposed forged letter that was dropped, he cannot get quit of Letter II.; but then his difficulty is—and he recognises it—that the forgers of the "murderous," "poisonous," and so forth letter would not, if they could help it, forge so comparatively mild a letter as Letter II., which besides, as he cannot help admitting, possesses strong internal indications of genuineness.

How then is Mr. Lang to effect his purpose? He cannot effect it; he can only attempt to hide, from himself and you, the impossibility of effecting it. He can endeavour to persuade himself and you that neither he nor you can tell whether he and you ought to arrive at any conclusion or not; and this he seeks to do by an astonishing, but really hopeless, manipulation of "mays" and "musts." The cleverness of Mr. Lang is, of course, universally recognised; but the dilemma of the "Cat i' the adage," or the stupid quadruped placed midway between the two equally attractive bundles of hay, is a mere joke to his case, delicately poised as he seems to be, in the centre of his encompassing and bewildering circle of "mays" and "musts," which it is his care to keep for ever revolving on his own axis.

It will thus be seen to what a desperate position of "delicately balanced probabilities" Mr. Lang is reduced. We have now at last discovered where he actually is. All that he is able with any confidence to contend for, is (1) that Crawford's Declaration and a few other items may have been added to a letter which otherwise may—that is, must—be a genuine original, and (2) that whether that be so or not, the accusers of Mary were guilty of forging a letter that was never produced. Some may exclaim, "What an impotent conclusion!"

But we must bear in mind that Mr. Lang's main aim is really to keep his circle of "mays" and "musts" in revolution. Could he prevent himself and you coming to any definite conclusion, would not that be a sufficient, and even wonderful, triumph? If you cannot discover that his theory—absurd though on a first glance it may seem to be—is wholly incredible, if you cannot find sufficient evidence absolutely to refute it, then (1) there would remain the faintest possibility of accusing Moray and his friends of a strangled attempt to utter a forgery, and (2) there would be a shadowy presumption against the complete genuineness of the Letters; and be it remembered the presumption would be more particularly against Letter II., for, while he must assume that it is so far the genuine original of "another long letter never produced," having got his imaginary letter, he proceeds calmly to assure you (p. 247) that it is "another source of suspicion" against the genuineness of its original.

To establish Mr. Lang's singular theory it is essential for him to show that Lennox and Moray had different sources of information for their description of the tenor of what I hold to be Letter II., but which Mr. Lang holds to be a forgery based on Letter II., which he supposes may, and also may not, be in great part genuine. For the description by Lennox see Appendix B. A translation by Major Martin Hume of the de Silva–Moray account appears in *Spanish State Papers*, p. 665; but I take the liberty of quoting here Mr. Lang's slightly different rendering:

"This had been proved beyond doubt by a letter which the Queen had written to Bothwell, containing more than three double sheets of paper, written with her own hand and signed with her name; in which she says in substance that he is not to delay putting into execution that which he had been ordered, because her husband used such fair words to deceive her, and bring her to his will, that she might be moved

by them if the other thing were not done quickly. She said that she herself would go and fetch him [Darnley], and would stop at a house on the road where she would try to give him a draught; but if this could not be done, she would put him in the house where the explosion was arranged for the night upon which one of the servants was to be married. He, Bothwell, was to try to get rid of his wife either by putting her away or poisoning her, since he knew that she, the Queen, had risked all for him, her honour, her kingdom, her wealth, which she had in France, and her God; contenting herself with his person alone" (pp. 177-8).

Regarding this account of the letter Mr. Lang remarks:

"He [de Silva] merely reports what Moray told him *he* had heard, from 'a man who had read the letter.' We might therefore argue that the whole reference is to the long Casket Letter II., but is distorted out of all knowledge by passing through three mouths. This natural theory is no longer tenable" (p. 179-80). The reader must of course make allowance for Mr. Lang's rhetoric. That the reference is "distorted out of all knowledge" is really not self-evident; it is what Mr. Lang has got to prove; and what I maintain is, that so far from this being so, the imperfections and minor misapprehensions are exactly what, in such a case, we might expect. De Silva states that the letter was signed, which Letter II. was not, but it was quite easy to suppose this; and in any case, since the mere signing is easy enough, the absence of signatures in the Letters is a proof rather of genuineness than the reverse.

Again, says Mr. Lang, Mary in Letter II. "does not say, as in Moray's account, that there is danger of Darnley's 'bringing her round to his will': she says the reverse, 'The place will hold,' and, therefore, she does not, as in Moray's report, indicate the consequent need of hurry" (p. 179). True, Mary does not quite in this way express need of hurry, though in Letter I. she expresses keen disappointment at Bothwell's delay. But Mr. Lang, it will be observed, omits all the reference to the "fair words to deceive her," etc., in the de Silva–Moray account. Compare this with what Mary writes in Letter II.: "You have never heard him speak better nor more humbly, and if I had no proof of his heart of wax" [that is, that he would deceive her] "I would almost have had pity on him." Further, incredible as it may seem, Mr. Lang himself here supplies a sufficiently striking illustration of how easy it is to forget important qualifications of a statement, for

he himself, with the Lennox version[1] before him, actually overlooks that Mary, in this version, is represented as writing that there should "no such sweet baits *dissuade* her, or cool her said affection from him, but *would continue therein*"; in other words "the place will hold"; and all this stares us in the face as soon as we turn Mr. Lang's page!

As to de Silva's mistake, that "she will go and fetch him," Mr. Lang ingenuously remarks this "must be an error of reporting or part of a clumsy forgery." Certainly it must be one or other! But since Lennox tells us that the letter was written from Glasgow, need Mr. Lang have here troubled himself about the "mays" and "musts"? Clumsy indeed would be the forger who would represent Mary as not arrived at Glasgow, from which he represents her also as about to depart!

Again says Mr. Lang, "she does not speak of giving a draught in a house on the road." Has Mr. Lang, then, never cast eyes on the following sentence in Letter II: "Advise to with yourself, gif ze can find out ony mair secreit invention by medicine; for he suld tak medicine and the bath at Craigmillar." Originally it was proposed that Darnley should go first to Craigmillar: it was thus the house on the way, though not quite on the direct road to Edinburgh. But if Mr. Lang, who ought, we must suppose, to have Letter II. at his fingers' ends, is so oblivious of its crucial statements, what can he expect of second- and third-hand reports of the letter, which are besides more accurate than his own account of it?

Further says Mr. Lang, Mary "says nothing of a house where 'the explosion was arranged.'" But this is by no means what de Silva's account conveys; for, according to Mr. Lang's version of it, Bothwell was not to delay "putting into execution" not that "which he had arranged," but that which "he had been ordered." De Silva's account does not imply that when Mary wrote, the house was undermined and the powder in its place: it was the house in which the arrangements were afterwards made for the explosion; but, in any case, de Silva or another might easily get a little mixed about this: in Letter I. Mary says that after bringing the man to Craigmillar she will go to Edinburgh to be let blood—a phrase, by the bye, to which Mr. Lang nowhere makes allusion—and in Letter II. she asks Bothwell, if he "be

[1] See Appendix B.

in Edinburgh," to send her word soon; and in the Scots version of Letter II. there is a reference to the "ludgeing in Edinburgh."

Still further Mr. Lang says, Letter II. "says nothing about poisoning or divorcing Lady Bothwell"; but in Letter II. Mary does say, "See not" [that is, make no account of] "her whose fained tears you ought not more to regard than the true travails which I endure to deserve her place": and she further writes: "We ar couplit with twa fals races; the devil sinder us." Darnley was to be sindered from Mary by murder, perhaps by poison. Bothwell could not be sindered from his wife except either by murder—by poison,[1] we must suppose—or by divorce; and yet Mr. Lang would have us credit that Letter II. is devoid of reference to these possibilities!

Finally says Mr. Lang, in Letter II. we have not "much, in detail, about Mary's abandonment of her God, her wealth *in France*, and her realm, for her lover." Here it is really difficult to know what Mr. Lang is driving at! Have we then so much in detail from de Silva? "Nothing of this detailed kind," writes Mr. Lang (p. 193), "occurs, we have seen," [that is, Mr. Lang has not seen] "in the Letters as produced. Similar sentiments are found however in the first and second Casket sonnets." And he goes on to quote: "Is he not in possession of my body, of my heart which recoils neither from pain, nor dishonour, nor uncertainty of my life nor offence nor worse woe?" etc., etc. Yet, while quoting this, Mr. Lang is completely silent about the famous appeal in Letter II.: "Now seeing to obey you, my dear love, I spare *neither honour, conscience, hazard nor greatness whatsoever.*" How could Mr. Lang become oblivious of this? Or does he think it so very different from de Silva's "her honour her kingdom her wealth and her God?" True, de Silva includes a reference to France, and Lennox to her titles to the crown of England, but a paraphrased interpretation of her meaning is quite what one might expect. Indeed there might even be some such references in the original French of Letter II. Mr. Lang, in his translation of the de Silva version, italicises "*which she had in France*"; but have we not Mr. Lang's word for it (p. 246) that "translations, English and Scots, *abound in careless omissions.*" The italics are mine; but do they, or do they not, obliterate Mr. Lang's italics?

Thus, unless we allow ourselves to be overcome by Mr. Lang's

[1] Bothwell is reported to have given her the choice of poison.

brilliant forensic art, we are without sufficient incentive to presuppose the existence of a "bloodthirsty," "murderous," "poisonous," and so forth letter, other than that which was not dropped. I do not therefore deem it necessary, meanwhile, to follow Mr. Lang in his speculations as to why this "bloodthirsty" figment disappeared: here his contrivances are neither "rare nor wonderful," and his entertaining ingenuity is by no means at its best. Moreover, since the de Silva–Moray version and the Lennox version, while agreeing so closely, as Mr. Lang asserts, with each other, do not differ from Letter II. in the manner he predicates, his reason for holding that if they apply to Letter II. they must have a common source, now falls to the ground; but whether this be so or not is of absolutely no consequence, for Mr. Lang's effort to show that they did not have a common source—a point essential to his theory—utterly breaks down.

"But," so Mr. Lang expresses himself, "an opponent, anxious to make the date of Lennox's knowledge of the poisonous letter seem much earlier, may say: 'Probably Lennox, in July, 1567, when Moray was in London, met him.'" To this Mr. Lang replies that "we know little of communication between Lennox and Moray in July, 1567, but we do know" [Mr. Lang assumes that *he* knows] "when Lennox began to collect evidence for the 'discourse,' in which this mysterious letter is cited" (pp. 185-6). But why does Mr. Lang refrain from telling us what he does know about communications between Lennox and Moray in London? Would the reader be surprised to learn that Mr. Lang, knowing that on July 16th Lennox had been appointed one of the Scottish Commissioners of Regency, in case Moray declined to act alone, could hardly doubt that this fact would be known both to Lennox and Moray before Moray left London on the last day of July? Would the reader further be in nowise astonished to know that de Silva reported to his master[1] that this same Moray, notwithstanding Mr. Lang's silence, "visited Margaret"—and doubtless also Lennox, for Lennox was staying with his wife, who was "the better horse"—"and showed a desire to help her"?

Is it credible that while Moray told de Silva of the purport of the letter, he would, even if Lennox made no mention of the letter to him, make no mention of it to Lennox, who enjoyed the full confidence of the Scottish lords, and, having been chosen a co-

[1] *Spanish State Papers*, 1558-67, p. 666.

regent, was as much entitled to know the facts of the case as Moray was? Besides, there is a curious corroboration of the almost necessary surmise that they talked over the case. De Silva reports Moray as stating that "Mary had done an extraordinary and unexampled thing on the night of the murder, in giving her husband a ring, petting and fondling him after plotting his murder"; and he must have got the story either from Lennox or Margaret, who refer to it in the "document." Yet these possibilities—dare we not say certainties?—pointing to a common source of the de Silva–Moray and the Lennox versions of Letter II. are entirely overlooked by Mr. Lang! Thus it is that his "anticipation" prevents his "discovery"!

But if we admit that Lennox and Moray met, as they undoubtedly did, and talked, as they must have done, about Mr. Lang's "bane and blessing," Letter II., not only does Mr. Lang's hope as to the impossibility of a "common source"—the hope needful for his "blood-thirsty" figment—disappear, but still more startling consequences follow. Supposing the Lennox version to have the same source as the Moray version, then of course Lennox did not need to get his version from John Wood in June, 1568, and the possibility—if so it may be termed—that John Wood had then in his possession the "blood-thirsty" figment, turns out to be a mere Jack-o'-lantern. Be it remembered that by the guidance of these "moss-traversing spunkies," whose tricksyness it has been needful to expose, Mr. Lang has been seeking to reach his one place of safety—the faint possibility that Crawford's Declaration and other items were inserted in Letter II. in September or October, 1568. Should it happen that the Moray and Lennox versions have a common source, he is bound to perish on the wild and treacherous moors before he reaches his doubtful place of refuge. The danger, should it befall him, would be doubly fatal: fatal because the necessity for the "bloodthirsty" figment would vanish, and fatal because all evidence that Wood had it, would vanish.

Bearing this in mind, we have now to consider Mr. Lang's second affirmation: "We do know when Lennox began to collect evidence for the discourse,[1] in which this mysterious letter" [the "blood-thirsty" figment] "is cited." But, after all, does Mr. Lang know? His theory of course is that Lennox began to collect evidence for this "discourse" after an interview with Wood, probably about June 11th. I do not

[1] See Appendix B.

propose to dispute that Lennox was shown the Scots versions of the Casket Letters by Wood at about this date. On the contrary, I believe this to be indisputable.

A letter of Lennox to Wood on July 29th,[1] shows that he and Wood were in communication about the charge against Mary; and, as Mr. Lang states, he on June 11th wrote to Moray "that there is sufficient *in her own letters* to condemn her." Having then perused the letters, he at Wood's instance, or on his own initiative, wrote to Crawford, Cunningham, Houston and Minto for, as I hold, confirmation of the statements that concerned them in Letter II. On the other hand, Mr. Lang has no option but to suppose that he wrote to these persons for information which was subsequently used to forge the statements found in Letter II. But here Mr. Lang's "mays" and "musts" threaten to prove altogether refractory. What now troubles him is how to fix the date of "the document July–September, 1568." Here he is faced not merely by a double but by a triple difficulty, or rather impossibility: (1) Mr. Lang has to find internal proofs that it was written after the interview with Wood, and therefore he must find in it information obtained in reply to the Lennox letters of June 11th; (2) for various reasons, Mr. Lang must deprive the document of this information: that is, must recognise that it does not—it really does not—contain it; and (3) he must discover the possibility of affording time for the forgery or garbling—*in the nick of time*—of Letter II. by aid of this said information, it being necessary—though this Mr. Lang does not seek clearly to point out—that Crawford's Declaration and other information should be sent by Lennox to Scotland to be returned to him in the shape of Letter II., in order that, dropping the old indictment, he might construct a new one—the one prepared for the York Conference. Also, to enable Mr. Lang to date the so-called first indictment after the Wood interview, he must suppose that it was prepared for a proposed meeting of an English court.

Now the English court was the York Conference in October, and therefore Mr. Lang has to suppose that this supposed first indictment was prepared both for and not for the York Conference, while he is further faced by the fact, that Lennox did undoubtedly prepare another indictment for that conference. Observe, it is needful to have the earliest possible date after the Wood interview for the

[1] See Appendix D.

first indictment, for this indictment must have, and at the same time must not have, information from Scotland. Mr. Lang therefore dates it provisionally—provisionally is good—between July 1st and August 25th, 1568, and his reason for fixing on August 25th is that it was *not till then* that Lennox received permission to go to the meeting of the Commission of Inquiry; and that therefore—this is the amazing inference implied, if not directly stated—the first indictment could *not* have been prepared after he received this announcement!

One naturally asks, was it then incumbent on Lennox to prepare his first indictment when he had and when he hadn't his information? And the only answer is that he must needs do so for the convenience of Mr. Lang's theory.

Indeed there is direct evidence that Lennox had no reason whatever to be in a hurry, except to oblige Mr. Lang. He was, it may be, hopeful that the matter would be tried; but it was not till the end of July that he had any definite information about this, for on the 29th[1] he wrote to Wood, "I understand bye mye said servante W^m^ Stewarde y^t^ ye thinke the Q. Ma^tie^ will have this greate matt^r^ tried w^ch^ I am verye glad of"; and on August 18th[2] he wrote to Cecil asking to know as to whether he might be permitted to attend the Commission so that he might "prepare himself." Thus if the so-called first indictment was prepared after the interview with Wood, it must have been prepared after the 25th August. There is no doubt that the indictment he then prepared was not Mr. Lang's so-called first indictment, but Mr. Lang's so-called second; but then the first was *not prepared in the interval between the meeting with Wood and the preparation of the second:* this is merely a self-devouring theory of Mr. Lang.

On page 185 Mr. Lang writes: "But it contains curious examples of the sayings and reports of Mary's own *suite* as to words spoken to her in her own ears. Therefore it would seem"—for Mr. Lang requires this evidence—"to have been written *after* June 11th, 1568, when Lennox wrote to Scotland asking his chief clansmen to collect 'the sayings of her servants and their reports,'"[3] But then Mr. Lang

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] Appendix E.

[3] As matter of fact these letters of June 11th did not reach their destination, else we should never have known of their existence.

has to show that while Lennox got the information he asked for, he at the same time did not get it. Therefore on page 189 he tells us, "Lennox, as we shall see, did not rest"—in the so-called second indictment—"on his earlier form of the indictment, with its description of Mary's letter about poisoning Darnley and Lady Bothwell, which he originally drew up say in July–August, 1568. In his letters from Chiswick he asked for all sorts of evidence from Scotland. He got it, and then, dropping his first indictment (which contained only parts of such matter) he composed a second." Will the reader kindly concentrate his attention on the saving clause within the parentheses?

Here we have one of Mr. Lang's most delicate feats of intellectual poising. For his thrilling performance he provides himself with hardly so much standing space as the point of a needle. Will he keep his balance? No! He topples over headlong at the foot of the page (190); for how can he expect us to credit that the details about Hiegate Crawford, etc., all absent from the first indictment, would be more difficult to discover by men who knew all about these details, than the sayings of Mary's servants, which these same men had to collect? Of course Mr. Lang has merely discovered in the first indictment what was not there. He really cannot have his cake in his hand and in his stomach at the same time; and there is not the slightest evidence in the so-called first indictment that it was written after Lennox received replies of any kind to his letters. In fact he never received replies to these letters; he had to write other letters before he got any information. The document must therefore have been written before Lennox saw Wood; and of this Mr. Lang himself supplies corroboration. He "preferred," in it, says Mr. Lang, "other evidence to that of Bothwell's captured accomplices, Powrie, Tala, and Bowton" (113). He did not prefer it, he simply had then no other evidence.

What then is Mr. Lang's reason for his absolute confidence that the indictment was written after the interview with Wood? "This," he says, "can easily be proved thus: The document in which Lennox describes the letter was never meant for a *Scottish* court of justice. It is carefully made out *in English*, by an English scribe, and is elaborately corrected in Lennox's hand, as a man corrects a proof-sheet. Consequently, this 'discourse' of Lennox's, with its description of the murderous letter, never produced, was meant, not for a Scottish, but for an English Court, or meeting of Commissioners. None such

could be held while Mary was a prisoner in Scotland; and no English indictment could then be made by Lennox" (pp. 184-5). Is this conclusive? Both Lady Margaret—who probably originally prepared the first document—and Lennox spent most of their lives out of Scotland, and were, it may be, incapable of preparing a document in Scots. An indictment might therefore have been prepared by them in English to be sent to Scotland—though I do not think this indictment was.

But, in any case, Mr. Lang necessarily lacks the full knowledge of possibilities that alone would enable him to prove a negative; and besides, as matter of fact, we have not been left to mere conjecture. Would Mr. Lang be surprised to learn that on May 28th the Earl and Countess of Lennox presented to Elizabeth a Bill of Supplication against Mary, which Bill they no doubt proceeded to prepare as soon as they learned of Mary's arrival in England? Mr. Lang at least makes no mention of this fact, although it is chronicled even in Chalmers' *Mary Queen of Scots* (ii. 289), and is referred to in Lennox's letter of August 18th,[1] which letter, as we have already seen, clearly shows that Lennox had not begun to prepare any new indictment since his interview with Wood. What I therefore venture to submit is that the so-called first indictment[2]—Mr. Lang's "document of July–August," or "July–September, 1568"—is a draft of the *Bill of Supplication prepared in May, 1568.*

If it be admitted that this Bill of Supplication is the document referred to, there would be no need for further consideration of Mr. Lang's statements, for such admission would imply that Lennox could not possibly have got from Wood his version of what I regard as Letter II., but of what Mr. Lang supposes to be a "murderous," "poisonous," "bloodthirsty" forgery that was dropped; but, owing to Mr. Lang's manœuvring capabilities, it seems advisable to continue the argument to its close.

Apart from the existence of a Bill of Supplication—which undoubted fact I respectfully commend to Mr. Lang's consideration—and other cogent reasons already given, it is in itself extremely unlikely that Lennox derived his version from the perusal of the letter when it was shown, with other letters, to him by Wood, for (1) out of a long letter he selects much the same points, and in

[1] See Appendix E. [2] Appendix B.

much the same order, as Moray did; (2) in his letter to Moray of June 11th he refers to Mary's *letters in general* as conclusive proof of her connection with the murder, and (3) in the document—the Bill of Supplication, as I hold—he merely refers to one letter, and this not as if he had lately seen it.

But the final, and by no means the least baffling, puzzle that awaits Mr. Lang is how to explain the dropping of the imaginary "poisonous," etc., forgery, and the substitution for it of Letter II. just before the York Conference. Having got Lennox at work after August 25th, in preparing what he supposes was a new indictment, Mr. Lang virtually finds it needful to suppose—there being so little time to spare—that the full information got at last by Lennox was in two places at one and the same time: it was before Lennox while he was preparing his indictment, but it must needs—according to Mr. Lang's hypothesis—be also in the hands of Moray and his friends in Scotland, or on the way between Scotland and York, to enable them to garble Letter II., which had further to be sent to Lennox to enable him to complete his indictment.

But of course the main difficulty is to explain how Mary's accusers would commit themselves to such an amazing *faux pas*. Here Mr. Lang's manipulation of "mays" and "musts" is really of no avail, and after a strangely desultory attempt of this description, he practically asks us to adopt the attitude of the ostrich. Here is the desultory attempt: "But, as to du Croc's copies of the Letters, the strong point, for the accusers, is, that, when the Letters were published, in Scots, Latin, and French, four years later, we do not hear that any holders of du Croc's copies made any stir, or alleged that the copies did not tally with those now printed, in 1571-1573, by Mary's enemies. This point must be kept steadily in mind, as it is perhaps the chief objection to the theory which we are about to offer" (p. 166). Then, after minimising this objection, in a manner that need not detain us Mr. Lang proceeds:—"If any one thinks that this course of conduct—the critical comparison of du Croc's copies with the published copies, and the remonstrance founded on any discrepancies detected—was the natural, inevitable course of French statecraft, at the juncture—then he must discredit my hypothesis" (p. 168); but if you do not think so, he asks you to admit that his hypothesis is at least a great possibility.

It is by no means certain—such is his argument—they would not object; but on the other hand it is by no means certain that they

would; and there is at least a faint chance they would not. But what is he asking you to shut your eyes to? To the fact, of course, that while he, in advancing such a theory, merely runs the risk of refutation, Mary's accusers, in committing themselves to such possibilities, were running the risk of political ruin. But he is asking much more of you than this. The marvellous combination of stupidity, cunning, cleverness, unscrupulousness, caution, impulsiveness, and recklessness which he supposes Mary's accusers to manifest could really not be found together in any human beings, either inside or outside the walls of a lunatic asylum. Not even the wit, imagination, and morbid genius of Swift could make them credible to us as monstrosities; and such men as Moray, Morton, and Maitland, besides their exceptional talents, really possessed an exceedingly large amount of plain common sense.

Let us glance, then, at the towering pyramid of impossibilities which Mr. Lang so lightly and blithesomely dismisses from his thoughts, with the remark that the objection he has stated is "perhaps" —perhaps, be it remembered!—"the chief objection" to his artful theory.

(1) To begin with, it is needful to suppose that Maitland and Sir James Balfour, perhaps the two most sharp-witted men in Scotland, and who between them must have known everything of importance that was to be known about the Darnley murder, so blundered in a statement as to the preparation of the lodging,—even when they had Letter II. before them!—and constructed a narrative "so large and mythical," that the forgery was bound to be detected.

(2) We have to credit that, although the lords had the statement of Powrie on June 22nd that he carried the powder to Kirk-o'-Field on February 9th, they put into the hands of the French ambassador and sent information to Moray about a letter, which Mr. Lang takes upon him to suppose implied that the trains of powder were laid before Mary left Glasgow.

(3) Mr. Lang has to premise that, after obtaining the evidence not merely of Powrie, but of Hay of Tala, and Hepburn of Bowton, Morton and his friends coolly placed this astonishing forgery in the hands of the Lords of the Articles—as they must have done—in view of certain resolutions that were to be passed by the Parliament on 15th December, 1567.

(4) He asks us to suppose that the said Lords of the Articles,

though they must have known that the supposed statement in the supposed letter would not bear examination, caused the supposed letter to be produced and read in Parliament; and that though this was done, no one discovered its supposed absurdities.

(5) Translations of these letters into Scots must have been read by Wood when they came into his possession in May, 1568, and we are asked to credit that Wood, who had been employed in recording the evidence of the subordinate actors in the murder, did not discover in the large letter he had in his possession any of the discrepancies which Mr. Lang professses to have discovered.

(6) There is at least a possibility that Wood showed the letters to Cecil, who in that case must afterwards have discovered the forgery.

(7) Wood and Lennox, who were in close consultation, Mr. Lang tells us, in June about the evidence, discovered no discrepancies.

(8) We are not informed how the lords could come into the possession of Letter II. Mr. Lang supposes it was not in the casket when "sichted"; and even supposing it was in Maitland's possession, would he now give it up? And since he was entirely opposed to the accusation of Mary in England, would he aid the lords in the eleventh-hour forgery?

(9) Can we suppose that Lennox would accept a letter he knew to be a forgery? His letter to Moray on June 11th implies his belief in the genuineness of the letters. He believed that Mary was guilty—that was the only reason for his complaining against her. To give him to understand that the evidence against her was a forgery would at once shake his belief in her guilt.

(10) Is it credible that the lords would thus place themselves entirely in the power of Lennox and Lady Margaret—Lady Margaret who, de Silva tells us, was so very distrustful of heretics!—Lady Margaret, who had such confidential relations with Spain!

(11) Can we credit that they would afterwards run the risk of publishing Letter II. when they knew that Mary's French relatives—not merely the French king, but, we must suppose also, the Guises—had in their possession the means of exposing the forgery?

(12) Could they be so bereft of reason as to publish Letter II. in Scotland, after a quite different letter had been produced and read in Parliament?

(13) Can we believe that if they did, the fraud would remain undetected?

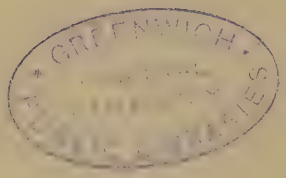
(14) Could so many persons know that the forgery was actually done, and could it yet remain a profound secret until its imagined discovery by Mr. Lang? These are a few of the more notable constituents of the towering pyramid. Many others might be mentioned, but it seems unnecessary further to tax the reader's patience.

It only remains to indicate the bearing of the argument on Crawford's Declaration. If Letter II. existed in June, 1567, or even before Lennox met Wood in June, 1568, then it is certain that no part of the letter could have been borrowed from Crawford's Declaration, or other evidence supplied by Lennox. The close resemblance between a portion of the letter and a portion of Crawford's Declaration is thus to be accounted for, either by the remarkably good memories of Crawford and Mary, or by the more likely supposition that Crawford, before preparing his Declaration for the Conference, refreshed his memory by the letter. By the new evidence—made known with other intent by Mr. Lang—this last supposition seems to become practically certain. In the preface to the second edition of the *Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots* (1890), I remarked, "It must be remembered that while Crawford affirms that he supplied Lennox with notes of the conversation, immediately after it took place, he does not state that the notes were again returned to him by Lennox in order to enable him to form his deposition" (p. xxvi). Mr. Lang (p. 256) unaccountably asks, "How else could he get them, unless he kept a copy?" My answer, of course, is that he did not get them—either by keeping a copy or otherwise. I also (p. xxxi) ventured to surmise that the notes may have been lost, and further (p. 84) expressed the opinion that "they had apparently been destroyed." To this Mr. Lang replies, "I see no appearance of this" (p. 256); and yet not only had Mr. Lang, when he wrote, what I had not when I wrote—this early indictment (the Bill of Supplication) before him, but he remarked (p. 97) that a certain story in it "*agrees ill with what is said in the deposition of Crawford.*" Supposing Lennox had Crawford's notes in his possession, would he have fallen into this mistake?

Further, Mr. Lang is of opinion that while Crawford swore that he sent in the report to Lennox,—who was lying ill in the same house as Darnley,—all that he did to the report he had given Lennox, before handing it to the Commissioners, was to anglicise it or cause it to be anglicised. Crawford himself says of his Declaration that he "caused it to be made according"—not to English, nor to the report,

After the electrotype in the National Portrait Gallery. *Photo by Emery Walker.*

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.
(From the monument at Westminster Abbey.)


GREENWICH

but—"to the truth of his knowledge." Mr. Lang affirms that by "made" Crawford could not mean what one would naturally suppose him to mean, but that he must have meant that he caused it to be anglicised from the Scots. "This," says Mr. Lang, "is proved by the draft in the Lennox Papers"; and Mr. Lang supposes, or supposed, that Crawford changed it into English by the help of the English translation of Letter II., to forge which, be it remembered, Crawford's Declaration had to be forwarded to Scotland![1]

The alterations in the draft—which is evidently not the first draft—do not support Mr. Lang's contention that Crawford was anglicising. In fact it very closely corresponds, not with the English version but with the Scots version of Letter II., and some corrections that are made—they are not so very many—are corrections of the Scots version of Letter II! Therefore Letter II. could not be derived from the Declaration. In Paragraph i. there is a notable hesitation about the "words in remembrance." In Paragraph iv. the "thys" which is scored out appears as "thus" in the Scots version of Letter II.; "ferther"—Scots rather than English—is substituted for it; but in the final version of the Declaration, "ferther" is superseded by "moreover." A little lower down "conteined," which appears in the Scots version of the letter as "conteind," is changed in Crawford's final version to "specified." "Such like," the "sicklyke" of Letter II., is changed in Crawford's final version to "yet." "Repent himself"—a French expression!—which occurs both in the draft and in the Scots version, becomes in Crawford's final version simply "repent." "Ye are the cause, because" occurs in Letter II., but in the Crawford draft the "because" is deleted and "for y^t" is substituted; and this alteration is adopted in his final version of the Declaration. Further, "I might disclose my hart to yo^w," in the draft of the Declaration, appears in its final version as "I might open my mind to yo^w," which is certainly not a mere anglicising from the Scots.

All this points, not to an anglicising of the original report given to Lennox, but to an alteration—partly, perhaps, from a vague remembrance of Darnley's phrases—of Letter II. What the existence of the draft shows is (1) that Crawford's Declaration could not have been in existence as early as Letter II., and (2) that Crawford made use of the Scots version of Letter II. in preparing it. Lennox having

[1] See Appendix C.

lost his notes, and Crawford's recollection, as was to be expected—he here professes only to give the substance, not the very words—not being very full and accurate, Crawford refreshed his memory by perusal of the letter, which, be it remembered, Lennox in any case had read. It was, doubtless, a foolish thing to do; but it may have been done with a perfectly honest intention, since he was persuaded that the words Darnley had given him were, in "substance," those he now reported.

It would thus seem that, so far as the Casket Letters are concerned, the Lennox MSS. tend to confute, not to confirm, the contentions of Mr. Lang. In other portions of his volume he has in several ways turned them to valuable and interesting account; and much of his literary criticism of the Letters is of course acute and suggestive. That he has failed to establish his special theory is also—as most people may readily suppose—in no degree owing to lack of effort and skill: it is only to be accounted for by the impossibility of his task. If enterprise, boldness, dexterity, ingenuity, inventiveness, tact, readiness of resource, generalship could have saved a desperate situation, then doubtless Mr. Lang would have saved it; but I venture to submit that he has not done so. What I have had to maintain is that he has blundered all along the line; but then it is needful to consider the indefensibility of his position. It is difficult to see how, if he was to make a show of maintaining his thesis, he could have made fewer or less fatal mistakes than he has made; and he could hardly have committed his mistakes more dexterously than he has done. As a great forensic effort on behalf of a hopeless cause, his advocacy of the Forgery theory is, after its own fashion, unsurpassable; but "cold print" is necessarily fatal to it. It is not History: it is heroic Self-Sacrifice on behalf of a Historical Myth.

APPENDIX B

THE BILL OF SUPPLICATION

(*Cambridge University MS.* Oo. 7, 47)

[f. 11a] fyrst to nott after the queens of schotes arryvall into hyr Realm owt of the partes of frans therlle of lenox perseavynge by the intellygens of hys frendes in that Realm the good wyll of the said qwene towartes hym for hys faythfull service done to hyr in hyr menoretye not vnknowyne to the fayce of the world the sayd erlle procuryt hys lycens of the queens m^te^ hyer for hys passage Into scotland and pourposly to the erektyng and settyng vp of hys hous agayn that had bene so longe at vnder|at hys commynge theithar he was so honorably Reseavyt and eussed of the said queen and nobyllety of that Realm that shortly after ther Insewyt a parlement only for the said erlis Resstetuyssyon at wyche tyme the said qween declared opinly to a nomber hys good servece to hyr and to hyr mother in bringynge them out of captivety and settynge the crown vpon hyr hede|the said erlle beyng estableshyt there for the paternall love and inwart affection he bair vnto hys dere son Henry the fyrst of scotland off that name and the langur of hart he had be Reason of hys sons absens from hym beyng on of hys chefast felecetys entyreyt in ernyst suite to the queens ma^is^ of Ingland for hys said sons commynge Into schotland || shortly affter hys arrayvall Into schotland I meane thys henry of most worthty memory || the queene of that Realm vpon hys sycht beynge strokyne w^t^ the dart of love by the commylynes of hys swet behavour and personage she also consyderynge w^t^ hyr self the blud he was commyn of Resolvyt in hyr hart the consummassyon of there maryage and from that tyme fourthe agreid in suche sort as shortly after ther maryage touk effect the wyche beynge fynnyshed there loves to others increassyd more & more euery day so y^t^ shortly after by the grace of god was the said

qwen conseaved w^{t} chyld nere there lovis neuer decayid tyll there Retorn from the Jernay of dromfr. at wyche tyme by the means of wykyt david hyr secreterry who began to grow in suche favour w^{t} hyr y^{t} she brocht In & pardonning w^{t}owt the consent of the King hyr husband syndry Rebelis being then bannyshed. [f. 11b] wher-vpon the said Kynge parseavyng the queen his wyf begynnynge to tak vpon hyr the doynges and derektyon of all thynges w^{t}owt hym otherwys then she was wont began not onely to muse thereat, but perceavinge every daie more and more how she was abused and caried awaie by particuler counsell and in especiall by the said David, whome the said Kinge might daily see increase in suche disordinate favour w^{t} his wife, as he beinge in his lustie yeres bearinge suche great love and affeccion vnto her began to entre in such ielosy as he thowght he culd no lenger suffer the procedinges of the said David: she vsinge the said David more like a lover then a servaunte, forsakinge her husbande's bed and boorde very often lykyng the company of davede as aperyd better then hyr husbandes whereat sundrye of their counsell and nobilyte of y^{t} Relme perceving the misvsage of the Kinge, their Soverein contrary to the honoures of them bothe, and allso ther owne if it shuld be suffred began to encrease the fier y^{t} was allredy kindled in the kinges hart in suche sort as by the kinges suffraunce the said David was apprehended but not murdred by his slaine consent. After whose deathe the Kinges hart beinge moved w^{t} pyty and love towardes his wife whose lamentable teares was to him in-sufferable began to gyve him self so whoaly to please her and follow her will in all thinges, and she craftely perceavinge the same began to refraine her teares and bridle her selfe in makinge it seem to him y^{t} she had from her hart forgeven and cast awaye the suspicion y^{t} she had conceaved of him touching the deathe of the said David, kepinge still in store the venim and poyson in her hart towardes her most lovinge and faithfull husbande. Who by her swete bates and amiable vsinge of him, thinkinge him selfe more suer of her love than ever he was before sowght all the meanes and waies he coulde to get her to libertye from the place w^{ch} she was in then: and w^{t} great hassard and danger of his life w^{t} six in number and him selfe conveid her from the place where she was by night to the castle of Dumbarre w^{t}out the knolledge eather of his father or any other. And having remained a certen time in the said castle, the doers of the said facte

being fled owt of the realme the nobilitye thereof beinge com in to contentacon them retourned to Edenbroughe againe to their great contentmentes and hartes ease [f. 12a] as outwardly it did appere, where they were not longe till the superfluitie of the Q. venim beinge so habundantly impostumed w^t^ in her harte against her lovinge and dere husbande began by litle and litle to burst owt in vsinge him now and then w^t^ tawnting and sharpe wordes: and therew^th^ immediatly raised certen bandes of soldioures by the advise and drifte of bothwell, whome she made generall of the said bandes besides the force of the hambletons, w^ch^ she called into her servyce to wait vppon her beinge thancient enemies of the Kinge her husbandes howse | then havinge remayned a few daies in the towne of Edenbroughe they passed to the Castle where they aboade till she was brought to bed; during w^ch^ time althoughe they accompanied at bed as man and wife, yet y^t^ innocent lambe who ment so faithfullye vnto her his wife had but an vnquiett life in so much y^t^ he beinge overcom w^t^ inwarde sorowe of hart by her most strange and ingratefull dealinge, was forced to wythdrawe him selfe owt of her companye oftener than he of him selfe woulde willinglye have don. In this meane time bothwell waxed so great y^t^ he supplienge the place of the aforesaid David was her love in such sort y^t^ she forgetting her duetye to god and her husbande, and setting apart her honour and good name becam addicted and assotted whoalye vnto the said bothwell, not onely for lust of the body, but allso to seek the blood of her dere husbande in revenge of the deathe of her servaunt David, allthoughe she daily forgave and pardonned sundry of the dede doers and yet continued still in her dedly hatred towardes her husbande till she had his life|. After her deliverance she passed from the Castle of Edenbroughe to Sterlinge before her monethe was owt beinge a grene woman, onely to absent her selfe from the companye of her husbande takinge her pleasure in most vncomelye mano^r^ araied in homelye sort dawncinge abowt the market crosse of y^t^ towne in such sort as abandouninge her selfe to riotuosnesse forgettinge her princly state and honour|her husband kepinge howse one waie and she another thowght not her selfe satisfied in vsinge her selfe in y^t^ mano^r^ at home [f. 12b] thowght she wolde yet finde the waye to be farder from her husbande. And so vnder a coloure invented a iorney to Gedworthe for kepinge the Justice ayers: where at that time and shortlye after at her comminge to Cragmiller

resolved
she w^t her complisses invented and concluded the time and mano^r of the most cruell and horrible murder of her most innocent and lovinge husband who by reason of her vnnaturall and ingratefull vsage of him vsinge her so obedientlye and lovingly as he dyd waxinge so wearye of her strange dealing towardes him having before her iourney to departure
Gedworth determined his voyage owt of the relme but y^t his carefull and lovinge father was the staye thereof thinking by his labour and counsell to bring them to their former godlye love and agrement togethers: but alas all in vayne: for suche love as she bare to the son, the like she bare the father | yet provinge all the meanes that coulde be to win her love by the advise of his father and other his frendes he did not onely visit her in her sicknesse at Gedworthe, but allso at Cragmiller: where at bothe times she vsed him but travaled in procuringe
strangelye And althoughe she procured the nobilytie of y^t realme so farre as she coulde to vse him as strangelye as she dyd in not frequentinge his companye and waitinge on him as they were wont yet the worse y^t her usage was towardes him, they perceving her cruell and vngodly dealings towards him her husband and their Soverein lorde inflammed their hartes the more against her: so y^t his wan
case beinge so lamentable to the face of the whole realme conquered thereby the whole hartes of the nobilyte and Commons thereof: so y^t she percevinge the same began to growe in suche feare as she thowght to haue shortned the time in layng handes on him and satisfienge of her Develishe intent if the ambassadoures of ffrance and England had not com in at y^t present time: but perceving y^t she was disappointed at y^t time by the comminge of the said ambassadoures the Christeninge of their son drawinge so nere she thowght to deferre the matter till the triumphe were finished and don and the ambassadoures gon. And in the meane time to dissemble and cloake the matter as she could very well enoughe doe.[1]

[f. 13a] Where he was a swete sacrifice vnto allmightye god: the time thereof approachinge nere at hande, the daie before his deathe she caused the riche bed wherein he laye to be taken downe and a meaner sett vp in the place, sainge to him y^t y^t riche bed they shoulde

[1] There must be a gap here of at least one leaf, *or* it may go on after f. 16b.

bothe lye in the next night in the pallace: but her meaninges were to save y^t^ bed from the blowinge vp of the fier of powder. The present night of his deathe she taried w^t^ him till eleven of the clocke w^ch^ night she gave him a goodly ringe interteininge him still w^t^ verye lovinge wordes, and semed y^t^ she woulde have taried all night w^t^ him: but bothe he and she were perswaded to the contrary by Bothewell and others who semed to bere a good countenaunce appoyntinge for y^t^ she had appointed to haue ridden the next daie in the moreninge to Seton: and all to abvse him y^t^ he should take no suspicion of his most cruell murder y^t^ was prepared for him, whiche ensued w^t^ in ii houres after | Then after her departure from him remayninge but a few of his owne servauntes w^t^in his chamber commanded y^t^ his great horses shuld be in a redinesse by five of the clocke in the morninge for y^t^ he minded to ride them at the same houre. Yet neverthelesse he began to wax sumwhat pensife remembringe a worde w^ch^ the Quene his wife tolde him a litle before her departure y^t^ night; w^ch^ was y^t^ she called the king to remembraunce y^t^ David her servaunt was murdred abowt y^t^ same present time twelvmoneth. So castinge the same in his minde demaunded of a servaunt of his whome he loved, what he thowght of the same worde, or whye she shoulde call the deathe of y^t^ man to remembraunce at y^t^ time whiche she did not of longe time before, who answered y^t^ he was sorye she called the same to remembraunce, or yet y^t^ he shoulde take any conceit therein wishenge his ma^te^ to take no thowght thereof, but gett him to his reste for y^t^ he had appointed to be vp early in the morninge [f. 13b] This man havinge a booke in his hande, the Kinge asked him what booke it was he answered, it was a psalme booke: then said the Kinge let vs go merilye to bed in singinge a songe before, his servauntes desired him y^t^ he would playe on his lute and they woulde singe, he answered y^t^ his hande was not geven to the lute y^t^ night, and so appointed the fifte psalme of David, and after he and his saide welbeloued servaunt had songe the same, called for his wine and dronke to his servaunt biddinge him farewell for y^t^ night: and so went to bed. w^ch^ otherwise might be called the Scaffolde or place of execucion. | But before we procede anye farder in this matter I cannot omitt to declair and call to remembraunce her lettre written to bothwell from Glasco before their departure thence togeather w^th^ suche cruell and strange wordes vnto him, w^ch^ he her husbande shoulde haue better considered and marked than he did,

love
but y^t the hope he had to win here nowe did blinde him, togeather y^t it liethe not in the power of man to prevent y^t whiche the suffringe will of god determinethe. The contentes of her lettre to the said bothwell from Glasco was to lett him vnderstande y^t allthoughe the flatteringe and swete wordes of him w^t whome she was then presentlye she meaninge the Kinge her husbande had allmost overcom her, yet she remembringe the great affeccion w^ch she bare vnto him there shoulde no suche swete baytes dissvade her or coule her said affeccion from him, but woulde continewe therein, yea thoughe she shoulde thereby abandon her god, put in adventure the losse of her dourye in ffraunce, hazarde suche titles as she had to y^e Crowne of England as heire apparant thereof, and allso the Crowne of her realme [f. 14a] wishenge him than presentlye in her armes: Therfore bed him go forwarde w^t all thinges, accordinge to their entreprise: and y^t the place and every thinge might be finished as they hadde divised against her cominge to Edenbroughe w^ch shoulde be shortlye. And for the time of execcucion thereoff she thought it best to be the night of Bastians mariage, w^che indede was the night of the Kinge her husbandes murder. She wrott allso in her lettre y^t the said Bothwell shoulde in no wise faile in the meane time to dispatche his wife and to geve her the drinke, as they had divised before | And to the cruell and strange wordes y^t she had at sundry times to the King her husband, firste the night he had her to Dumbarre adventuring his life to save her and to content her at the place wher they toke their horse in the Chercheyarde of hollyroode house near to the place where David was buried, she asked the Kinge whose grave it was: he aunswered y^t it was Dauides. She replied sainge it shoulde go very harde w^t her, but a fatter then he shoulde lye nere by him ere one twelmonethe were at an end | At her comminge to Edenbroughe from Dumbarr, where she began to misvse her husband, as is aforesaid, som times in her sharpe and tantinge wordes to him, she woulde saye y^t she never trusted to dye till she might revenge the deathe of her servaunt David wythe her owne handes, and y^t she feared the time shoulde com y^t he him selfe shoulde be in the like case as David was, and aske mercye manye a time, when it should be refused vnto him | She allso said at Gedworthe openlye after her comminge from Bothwell, who then laye sore hurt [f. 14b] in the hermitage her servauntes sainge vnto her y^t they merveled howe she beinge but a

woman coulde take ye paines y^t she dyd havinge wearied all them y^t were her servantes in y^t iorneye, she answered and said, Trothe it was she was a woman, but yet was she more than a woman in y^t she coulde finde in hart to see and beholde y^t w^ch any man durst do, and allso coulde finde in her hart to do any thinge y^t a man durst do yf her streinthe woulde serve her thereto: w^ch appered to be true for y^t som saie she was present at the murder of the Kinge her faithfull husband in mans apparell; w^ch apparell she loved oftentime to be in in dawnsinge secretlye w^t the Kinge her husbande, and goinge in maskes by night throughe the streates |. In Sterlinge at the Christenninge time before his comminge to Glasco in vsing at a time certein sharpe wordes to the Kinge, wherevppon the colour of his face began somwhat to change she said to him y^t his face was somwhat red and for remedye thereof to abate his colloure, if he were a litle daggered and had bled as muche blood as mye Lord bothwell had lately don, it woulde make him looke the fairer. Now to retourne to this most dolorouse and wofull matter, the Kinge had not layen one houre and halfe, beinge in slepe till fiftye persones in number envirouned that howse whereof xv of them Bothwell beinge chefe came the secret waye, w^ch she was wont her selfe to com to ye Kinge her husbande and w^th their double keyes opened all the lockes of the garden and howse, and so quietlye entred his chambre who findinge him in bed fynallye did suffocate him w^t a wett napkin stipt in vinegre. After whiche beinge don bare his bodye in to the garden ~~laying by him~~ layed his night gowne of pourple vellet furred w^t sables.[1]

[f. 15a] And fearinge the Kinge shoulde have ~~giue~~ spoken w^t the ambassadoures before they had bin w^t her, and to have informed them of her vnnaturall procedinges towardes him she after he accustomed fained manor dissemblinge knowing him of so good nature y^t she coulde not so sone shewe him good visage, but he woulde as sone receve it in suche good part, as he woulde thinke she ment good feithe, when as inwardly her meaninge was most false and cruell towardes him: y^t after an amiable and gentle manor she desired him y^t he woulde neather see nor speake w^t the said ambassadoures till bothe she and he were at Sterlinge: where they bothe together shoulde

[1] What follows may be the earlier missing part.

give them presence
receave them desiringe him y^t^ he woulde repaire to Sterlinge before and she woulde followe shortly after | So after bothe their comminges thither at y^t^ time she fearinge y^t^ the comlinesse of his personage his princely behaviour, modestye, qualities and languages w^ch^ god had endowed w^t^all should have not onely allured the hartes of y^t^ assembly towardes him at y^t^ time, but allso the hartes of the Ambassadoures and for avoidinge thereof and preventinge all thinges y^t^ might have bin the lett of y^t^ most develishe and horrible murder, w^ch^ laie festred and hid in her harte, she fained to be in a great rage and coller against the Kinges tailers y^t^ had not made suche apparell as she had divised for him against y^t^ triumphe. So she desired him even as he tendred her love and honour y^t^ he woulde absent him selfe from the said triumphe and sight of the ambassadoures. And allthoughe it was muche contrarye to his nature and will, yet to followe her minde in all thinges thinkinge thereby still to win her love beinge counselled allso by sundry noble men so to do graunted her request. In this meane time his fether beinge
credibly informed
advertised y^t^ at Craigmiller the Quene and certen of her counsell had concluded an entreprise to the great perill and daunger of his maiestyes persone, w^ch^ was that he shoulde haue bin apprehended and put in warde, w^ch^ rested but onely vppon the finishinge of the Christeninge and y^e^ departure of y^e^ said ambassadoures [f. 15b] w^ch^ thinge beinge not a litle grevouse vnto his fathers harte did giue him wareninge thereof: wherevppon he by the advise of sundry y^t^ loved him departed from her shortly after the Christeninge, and came to his father to Glasco beinge fully resolved in him selfe to have taken shippe shortlye after and to have beyond the seas: but y^t^ sicknesse prevented him, w^ch^ was the cause of his staye. During
went to
w^ch^ sickenesse she never sent to him till she was at Edenbrough purposed to take the prince her son w^th^ her and to prepare the place of sacrifice for his father accordinge to her wicked invention. Then she sent vnto the kinge her husband making her excuses, and lettinge him vnderstand the occasions of her staie from him all that while whiche was by reason of her want of healthe, and allso the care y^t^ she hadde of the prince their childe to see him safely brought to Edenbroughe: but now finding her selfe in healthe better than she was, if it pleased him she woulde come and visit him: he aunswered

her servaunte sainge y^t^ he never gave her iuste occasion cause to thinke otherwise on him but y^t^ her companie shoulde be most comfortable vnto him. Therefore she was wise and knewe well enough the duetie y^t^ the wife owght to the husband, and especiallie in suche time of sicknesse: wherefore if she woulde com she shoulde be most hartelye wellcom | her servaunt aunswered demaundinge whether it were his pleasure or not y^t^ she shoulde com. The Kinge replied sainge I have tolde yow y^t^ she is wise and is not ignoraunt of her duetye towardes me like as I know my duetye towardes her if she were in like case y^t^ I am presently in, wherefore I remitt her comminge or tarrienge to her selfe | If she com it shalbe to mye comfort and she shall be wellcom. yf she tarye, even as it pleasethe her, so be it: But thus muche ye shall declare vnto her, y^t^ I wishe Sterlinge to be Gedworthe Glasco to be the hermitage, and I therle bothwell [f. 16a] as I lye here and then I doubt not but she woulde be quicklye w^t^ me vndesired. W^t^in certen daies after the retorne of her servant from the Kinge having concluded and prepared all thinges readye for the executinge of her horrible entreprise, she sent very lovinge lettres and messages vnto him to drive all suspicions owt of his hed y^t^ he might have of her. And shortlye after came vnto him herself to Glasco: where she taried certen daies withe him. Duringe whiche time she handled the matter so craftelye withe her svete wordes and gentle vsinge of him y^t^ contrary to his fathers minde and consent he graunted to go withe her to Edenbroughe accordinge to her fetch and desire: allthoughe nether he nor his father never thought y^t^ she ment anie suche crueltye, as shortlye after coome to passe but y^t^ all controversies past betwene them were cleane forgotten and buried. ffinallie they sett forwerd on their iorney towardes Edenbroughe he being as yet not whoale of his disease. Where to the great reioysinge of the people they were honorablye receaved: And lightinge at the place y^t^ was allreadye prepared vnder mines and w^t^ trayens of powder therein for his persequcion the duble keyes of all the gates and dores thereof in her custodie: he lokinge vppon the said howse w^ch^ was so litle in his sight as he in no wise liked of, and beholdinge another lodginge nere by w^ch^ semed fairer in his sight said y^t^ he woulde lodge in y^t^ howse for y^t^ he mislyked the other y^t^ was prepared for him. The quene tooke him by the hande and said:

y^t allthoughe y^t howse was fairer in his sight yet the romes of the other were more easy and handsom for him, and allso for her, for y^t there passed a privye waie betwene the pallace and it, where she might allwaies resort vnto him, till he were whoale of his disease. [f. 16b] And he beinge bent to follow her will in all thinges, yelded to the same and so entred the howse: where he continued vnto the time of his deathe. Duringe w^ch time she visited him every night, and vsed him in everye sort as well as he him selfe coulde wishe appointing the daie y^t he shoulde remove from thence into the pallace takinge suche paynes abowt him y^t beinge in his bathes wolde suffre none to handle him but her selfe: wherevppon he assured him selfe so muche of her favour y^t to comfort his ffather who then remayned at Glasco sicke by the occasion of the paynes he tooke in tendinge the Kinge his son in his sicknesse wrotte his lettre vnto him a litle before his deathe to the effect as folloethe:

My Lord I have thowght good to wright vnto yow by this bearer of my good healthe I thanke god w^ch is the soner com to throughe the good treatment of suche as hathe this good while concealed their good will I meane of my love the Quene: whiche I assure yow hathe all this while and yet doethe vse her selfe like a naturall and lovinge wife | I hope yet y^t god will lighten our hartes w^t ioye y^t haue so longe byn afflicted w^t troble | As I in this lettre wright vnto your Lordship, so I trust this bearer can certifye yow the like | Thus thankinge allmightye god of our good happe I committ your lordship into his proteccion. ffrom Edenbroughe the vii^th of ffebr.

Your lovinge and obedient Son
Henry Rex

As he was wrightinge this lettre the Quene his wif cam vnto him, and seeinge the contentes thereof semed to be so well pleased w^th all y^t she tooke him abowt the necke and kiste him as Judas did the Lorde his Master | This tyrant having brought her faithfull and most loving husbande y^t innocent lamb from his carefull and lovinge father to the place of execucion.

[f. 17a and part of 17b are taken up with another copy of the beginning of this same document.]

[f. 17b][1] his night gowne laied by him and his servant W^{m} tayler in like manour who suffred deathe in lyke sort: whose soules the Lord receave into his glorye. All w^{ch}e being finished the howse beinge blowen vp w^{t} powder, vppon the cracke and noyse thereof, w^{ch} the Quene watched for to here she went to bed.

[1] This should perhaps come after 14b, p. 659.

APPENDIX C

DRAFT OF CRAWFORD'S DECLARATION

(*Cambridge University*, Dd. 3, 64, No. 36)

Theise are the wordes I remember were betwixt the Kinge and the Q. in Glasco when she tooke him awaye to Edinbr.

The Kinge for y^{t} mye L. hys father was absent sicke bye reason whereof he cowde not speake wth him him sellfe, called me vnto him, theise words y^{t} had then passed betwixt him and the Q., he gave me in remembrance and ~~gave me theise~~ words had betwixt him and the Q., in remembrance to
to report vnto the said my Lord hys father
After theire metinge, and short spekinge togeather she demaunded of him of hys lettres wherein he complayned of the crueltye of som.

He answered y^{t} he complayned not wthowt cause and as he beleved, she woulde graunt her sellfe when she was welle advised

She asked him of hys sicknesse, he aunswered y^{t} she was the cause ~~of hys sicknesse~~, and ferther ~~thys~~ he said, ye asked me ~~of~~, what I ment bye the crueltye conteined in my lettres, It ys of yo^{w} onelye y^{t} will not accept my offres and repentance, I confesse y^{t} I have failed in som thinges and such like greater fawltes have bin made to yo^{w} sundrye tymes, w^{ch} ye haue forgiven: I am but yonge and ye will saye ye haue forgiven me sundrye times May not a man of my age for lacke of counselle of w^{ch} I am ~~all togeather~~ verye destitute falle twise or thrise, and yet repent him selffe and be chastised bye experience. yf I haue made anye fayle, y^{t} ye but think a fayle howe so ever it be, I crave your pardone and proteste y^{t} I shall never fayle againe, I desire no other thinge but y^{t} we maye be to geather as husband and wife And if ye will not consent hereto I

RELICS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

COVERED VASE OR CIBORIUM—A remarkable example of twelfth century work presented by Mary Stuart to Sir James Balfour of Burleigh.

SILVER-GILT HANDBELL used by Mary Stuart at Fotheringay Castle.

COVERED TANKARD OF AGATE, sometimes designated "Queen Mary's caudle cup." These three precious relics formed a part of the heirlooms of the family of Bruce of Kennett. They are now in the possession of Lord Balfour of Burleigh.

A GOLD ROSARY WITH CRUCIFIX—The celebrated Rosary which Mary Stuart preserved till nearly her last moments. It was bequeathed to the Countess of Arundel and descended to the Howards of Corbey, and was obtained from them by the Duke of Norfolk, in whose possession it now remains.

LIBRARY

desire never to rise forthe of thys bed. Therefore I praye yo^{w} giue me an answer herevnto. God knowethe howe I am punished for makinge mye god of yo^{w} and for havinge no other thowght but on yo^{w}, and if at any time I offend yo^{w}, ye are the cause, ~~because~~ for y^{t} when anie offendethe me if for my refuge I might disclose my hart to yo^{w}, I would speake it to no other, but when anie thinge ys spoken to me, and ye and I not beinge as husband and wife owght to be, necessite compelleth me to keep it in my breste and bringethe me in suche melancholye as ye see I am

She aunswered y^{t} it semed him she was anoyed w^{t} hys sickness, and she would finde a remedye so sone as she might

She asked him whye he would haue passed awaye wth the English shippe

He answered y^{t} he had spoken wth the englishman but not of mynde to goe awaye w^{t} him, and if he had it had not bin wthout cause in respect of the maner howe he was vsed, for he had neather to susteine him sellf nor his servauntes and need not to make farder discourse thereof, for she knew y^{t} as well as he
Then she asked him of the purpose of hegate
He aunswered y^{t} y^{t} was tolde him
She required how and bye whome it was tolde him
He answered y^{t} the L. of wyate told him y^{t} there was a lettre presented to hir in Cragmiller, made by her owne advise and subscribed bye certeyne others, who desired her to subscribe the same, w^{ch} she refused to do | And he said to her y^{t} he would never truste y^{t} she who was his own propre flesche would do him anye evell and if anye other would do it, theye shulde by it dere, except they took him slepinge, albeit he suspected no bodye. So he desired her effectuouslye y^{t} she would beare him companye, for she fownde ever som ado to drawe her selfe from him to her owne lodginge, and would never remayne w^{t} him paste ij houres togeather at once

She was very pensife: whereat he fownd fawlte: he said to hir y^{t} he was advertised y^{t} she had brought a litter w^{t} her
She aunswered yt bicause she vnderstoode he was not hable to ryd on horseback, she brought a lytter y^{t} he might be caried more softelye

He aunswered y^t^ it was not mete for a sicke man to travelle y^t^ could not sitt on a horse, and especiallye in so colde weather.

She aunswered y^t^ she would take him to Cragmill^r^ where she might be w^t^ him and not farre from her sonne.
He aunswered y^t^ vppon condicion he would goe w^t^ her. That was y^t^ he and she might be togeather at bed and borde as husband and wife, and y^t^ she showld leave him no more. And if she wold promise him y^t^, vppon her word, he would go w^th^ her where she pleased w^th^owt respect of any danger of sicknesse wherein he was, or otherwise. And if she would not graunt to the same he would not go w^t^ her in no wise.

She aunswered y^t^ it was for y^t^ effecte y^t^ she was com, and if she had not byn minded therto, she had not com so farre to fetche him, and so she graunted his desire and promised him y^t^ it should be as he had spoken, and therevppon gaue him her hande and faythe of her bodye y^t^ she would loue him and vse him as her husband ~~but~~ notw^t^standinge before they culd be togeather he must be purgid and clensed of hys sicknesse w^ch^ she trusted shuld be shortlye. ffor she minded to giue him the bathe at Cragmiller
~~and then~~
Then he said he would do what so ever she would him to doe, and would love all y^t^ she loved

but She required of him in especialle, whome he loved of the nobilite and whome he hated.
He answered y^t^ he hated no man, and loved all alike well.
She asked him howe he liked the Ladye Reresse and if he were angrye w^t^ her.
He aunswered y^t^ he had litle minde of suche as she was, and wished of god y^t^ she might serve her to her hono^r^

Then she desired him y^t^ he would kepe to him sellfe y^e^ promise betwixt him and her and to declare it to no bodye. ffor peradventure the Lordes wold not think it good of theire suddeyne agrement consideringe he and they were at some wordes before.
He aunswered y^t^ he knewe no cause whye theye showld mislike of it, and desired her y^t^ she would not ~~purchase~~ move any of them against som of ~~them bye her~~ him like as he would ~~not doe to ye~~ perswade not aga nst her and y^t^ theye wold work bothe in

one mynde otherwise it might torne to greater inconvenience to them bothe
She aunswered y^t^ she never sowght anye waye bye him, but he was the
in faulte him sellfe

He aunswered againe y^t^ his faultes were published and y^t^ there were y^t^ made greater faultes than ever he made y^t^ beleved were vnknowne, and yet theye woulde speake of great and smale.

~~She asked of him if he might be readye to travalle at y^t^ time~~
~~The wordes y^t^ the King spake vnto me at hys departinge for the of Glasco~~
farder the Kinge at that present tyme
" ~~at hys departure owt of glasco~~
The Kinge asked me what I thowght of his voyage, I aunswered y^t^ I liked it not bicause she tooke him to Cragmiller ffor if she had desired him w^t^ her sellfe or to haue had hys companye, she would haue taken him to hys owne howse in Edinbrowgh, where she might more easelye visitt him than to travell two myles owt of the towne to a gentleman hys house Therefore my opinion was y^t^ she toke him awaye more like a presoner than her husband.

He aunswered y^t^ he thought litle lesse him selffe, and feared him selffe inded, save the confidence he had in her promise onelye, notw^t^-standing he would go w^t^ her, and put him selfe in her handes, thowghe she showld cut hys throte, and besowght god * to [gone] mercye vnto them bothe

[Next page.]

The wordes betwixt the Q. and Thomas Crafo[rd]. ~~These are the wordes y^t^ were betwixt~~ the Q. and me by the way as she came to Glasco to fetche the Kinge when my L my master sent me to shew her the cause, whye he cam not to mete her him selfe.

ffirst I made mye L. mye master his humble commendacions vnto her Ma^te^ w^t^ the excuse y^t^ he came not to mete her prainge her grace not to thinke y^t^ it was eather for ~~prowdnesse~~ stowt stomacke or yet for not

* [These last words are written on the extreme outer edge; the second word is gone, and the third partly so.]

for want of helth at y^t present
knowinge his duetye towardes her highnesse, but onelye y^t he woulde
and also vntille
not presume to com in her presence why he knew farder her minde
sharpe
bicause of the ~~rude~~ wordes y^t she had spoken of him to Robert Cun-
wherebye he thowght he was
ingham hys servaunte in Sterlinge ~~by the w^ch he perceaued~~ in her Ma^tis
notw^tstandinge
displ *. he hath sent hys servantes and frendes to wayt vppon
her Ma^te.

She aunswered y^t there was no recepte ~~against coulde serve~~ against feare.

I aunswered y^t my L. had no feare for anye thing he knewe in him selffe but onelye of the colde and vnkindlye wordes she had spoken to hys servaunt.

She aunswered and said y^t he would not be afraide in case he were not culpable.

I aunswered y^t I knew so farr of hys Lordship y^t there was nothing he desired more, than the secrettes of every creatures harte were written in theire face.

She asked me yf I had any farder commission.

no
I aunswered ~~y^t I had spoken the thinges I had in commission.~~

Then she commaunded me to hold mye peace

and for and for y^t
the better
of whome

[Breaks off here.]

* [The rest of this word is cut away.]

APPENDIX D

MATTHEW, EARL OF LENNOX, TO JOHN WOOD
29TH JULY, 1568

(*B. M. Add. MS.* 35, 125, f. 16)

AFTER my hartye commendacions to yo^{w} good M^{r} Wood, Whereas I receaued from yo^{w} bye the handes of mye servante W^{m} Stewarde a lettre sent from mye L. regent vnto me, and have written vnto his Lordship againe to geath^{r} wth anoth^{r} lettre directed to my servante Thomas Craforde being bothe inclosed wthin this packet, wherefore I shall hereby desire zo^{w} y^{t} with the firste lettres ye dispache into Skotland, ye will send the same. Further I vnderstand bye mye said servante W^{m} Stewarde y^{t} ye thinke the Q. Ma^{te} will have this greate matt^{r} tried w^{ch} I am verye glad of, and if ye be certeine of the tyme and place, I shall desire yo^{w} to lett me vnd^{r}stande thereof. Thus ceassinge for this present I bidd yo^{w} good M^{r} Wood hartelye farewell. From Cheswicke, xxivth of Julye

Yo^{r} assured Frend,

MATTHEW LENNOX

Addressed:—TO MY LOVINGE FRENDE MR. JOHN WOOD,
SERVANTE TO MYE L. REGENT.

APPENDIX E

THE EARL OF LENNOX TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL

AUGUST 18TH, 1568

(*Record Office—State Papers, Mary Queen of Scots*, Vol. I., No. 58)

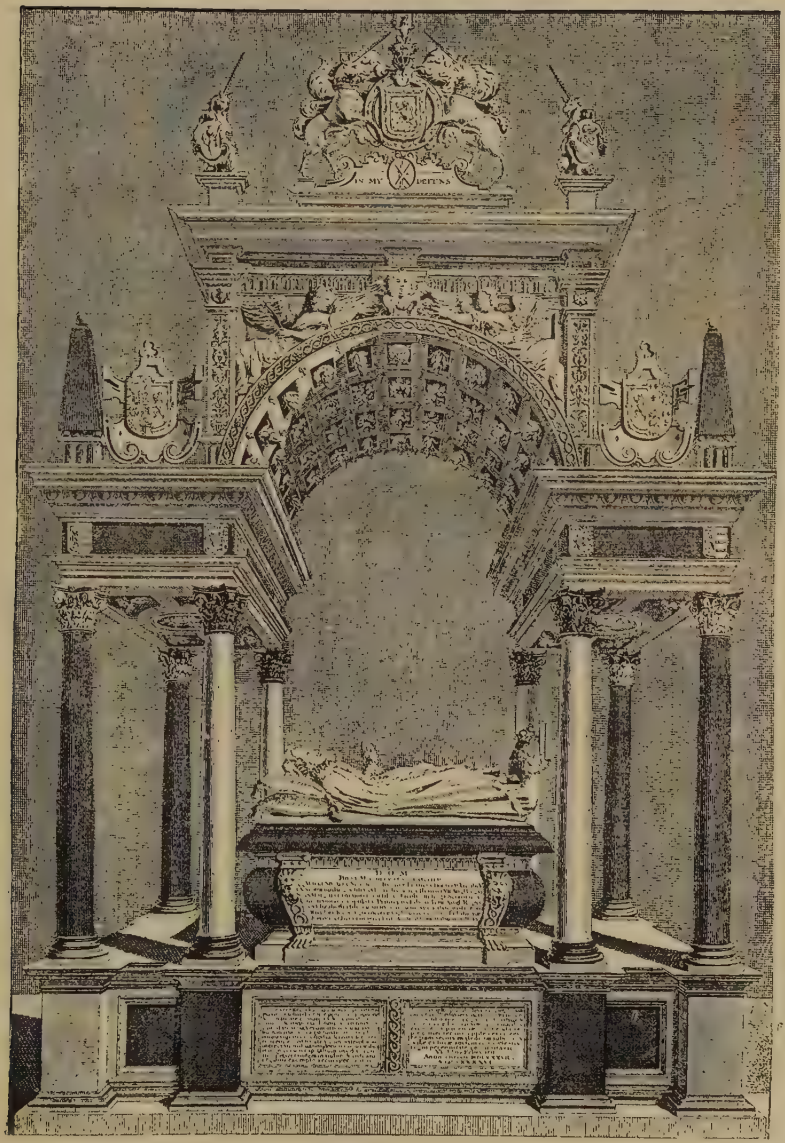
My moste hartye commendacions vnto yo^{w} good M^{r} Secretarye. S^{r} Whereas I vnd^{r}stande y^{t} by the Q. Mat^{es} appoyntment and the astates of Skotlande the murdre of the late Kinge thereof my sonne shalbe tried in the beginninge of this next monethe of Septemb^{r} and for y^{t} mye Wife and I did exhibitte a bille of supplicacion vnto her Ma. as ye knowe, requiringe Justice at her highnesse hands for y^{t} horrible facte the chief actoure thereof beinge nowe wthin her realme. Nevertheless havinge allwayes mye duetye in recommendacion, I beinge the partye whome the matter towchethe moste nere, where appearaunce maye be thought moste requisitt and necessarye, yet will I in nowise determyn nor p^{r}pare myeselfe for y^{t} iourney, but as shall stande wth her Ma^{tis} pleasure, w^{ch} I most humbly craive to vnd^{r}stande. Desiringe yo^{w} most hartelye to be the meane therefore, Whereby I maye prepare my sellfe thereafter. Thus ceaseinge to trouble yo^{w} anye farder. I committ yo^{w} good M^{r} Secretarye to Godes protection. From Cheswicke, the xviiith of August

Yo^{r} verye assured frend to mye power

MATHEW LENNOX

S^{r} it maye please yo^{w} to give creditte vnto this bearer my servante in such matt^{r} as I have willed him to declare vnto yow.

Addressed:—To the right honorable S^{R} W^{M} Cycille Knight Chief Secretarye vnto the Q. Ma^{TIE}.



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.
Her monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster

GREENWICH
NTRAL
RARY
C MARIE

APPENDIX F

TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF FACSIMILE FACING PAGE 528, HERE ADDED TO FACILITATE ITS DECIPHERMENT.

(*Transcript*)

"MADAME MA BONNE SŒUR,—Ayant entandu par me lord Boyd que tant s'en fault que mes rebelles cessant a votre commandemant la poursuite de mes subjects qu'au contrere ils leur ont use et pretandent user dauvantasge de rigueur en toute haste je vous ay voullu fayre ce mot pour prier de donner credit a monssieur de Rosse et brieve expedition pour la grand nesesitey en quoy jay layssay tombay mes affayres pour vous complayre ne scherschant plus secours aillieurs je voy les deleys de Mora parquoy je vous suplie ou promptemant me resouldre de votre ayde ou m'en refeuser car datandre plus a trayter aueques Mora et cepandant qu'il se fasse meytr du tout ce ne seroit mon bien ni grand honneur a vous que vous en estant meslee ils en fassent si peu de compte, ayant envoye les discours au long a milord Ross je ne vous importuneray plus pour le present si non vous baysant les meins prier Dieu vous auvoyr en s seinte guarde de Winkfeild le onsiezme de juillet.

"Vottre tres affectionnée bonne
"Sœur et Cousine,
"MARIE, R.

"A LA ROYNE D'ANGLETERRE,
"Madame ma bonne Sœur et Cousine."

(*Translation*)

"MADAME, MY GOOD SISTER,—Having heard by my Lord Boyd that so far are my rebels from desisting at your command from pursuing my subjects, that on the contrary they have used and pretend to use still

more severity towards them, with all speed I have thought right to write you these words to pray you to give credit to my Lord of Ross, and to use expedition for the great necessity into which I have allowed my affairs to fall, in order to please you, not seeking any help elsewhere. I see the delays of Moray, wherefore I pray you either promptly to certify me your help or to refuse it, for to wait longer to treat with Moray, and meanwhile that he should make himself master of all, would not be to my advantage, nor a great honour to you, that, after you have interfered, they should hold things so cheap. Having sent instructions at length to my Lord Ross, I will not importune you more for the present, except, whilst kissing your hands, to pray God to have you in His holy keeping. From Wingfield, 11th July.

"Your very affectionate and good
"Sister and Cousin,
"MARIE, R.

"TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND,
"Madame my good Sister and Cousin."

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